

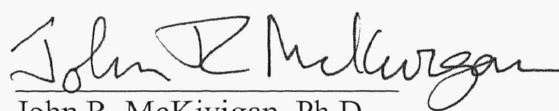
SCHOLARLY EDITION OF THE GRAND TOUR DIARIES OF
FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND HELEN PITTS DOUGLASS

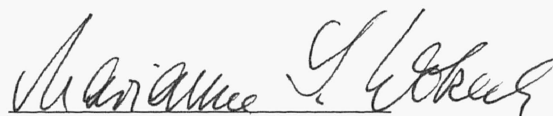
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Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
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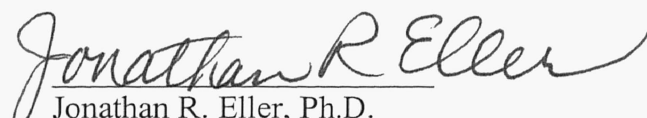
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Abbreviations

ACAB	<i>Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography</i>
ANB	<i>American National Biography</i>
BDAC	<i>Biographical Directory of the American Congress</i>
DAB	<i>Dictionary of American Biography</i>
DANB	<i>Dictionary of American Negro Biography</i>
DHU	Howard University
DLC	Library of Congress
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
FD	Frederick Douglass
JNH	<i>Journal of Negro History</i>
Lib.	<i>Boston Liberator</i>
MdAA	Hall of Records Commission, Annapolis, Md.
MEB	<i>Modern English Biography</i>
MShM	Mount Holyoke College
NCAB	<i>National Cyclopedia of American Biography</i>
NCCN	<i>New Century Cyclopedia of Names</i>
NHB	<i>Negro History Bulletin</i>
NN	New York Public Library
NRU	University of Rochester
ORH	Rhodes House Library, Oxford University

Introduction

Frederick Douglass was one of the few figures of the nineteenth century to publish more than one autobiography in his lifetime. The first, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, appeared in 1845, seven years after Douglass escaped from slavery. *My Bondage and My Freedom*, the second of his autobiographies, came out in 1855. His final autobiography was *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, first published in 1881 and augmented in 1892. As one historian has noted, each of these published autobiographical works reveals “significant differences in age, memory, and objectives at the time of writing.”¹ Thus researchers have examined each autobiography individually as well as comparing each to the others to discern different meanings from them.²

The only other significant autobiographical writing by Douglass was a diary he kept, beginning in September 1886, of his travels through England, France, Italy, Egypt, Greece, and Switzerland. The travel diary is also the only autobiographical writing that Douglass did not publish in his lifetime, although it has been reproduced and summarized at various times since his death.³ In fact Douglass himself wrote

¹John W. Blassingame et al., eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers; Series Two: Autobiographical Writings*, 2 vols. to date (New Haven, Conn., 1999–), 1:xiii (hereafter cited as *Douglass Papers*).

² See, e.g., Peter Ripley, “The Autobiographical Writings of Frederick Douglass,” *Southern Studies*, 24:5-29 (Spring 1985).

³Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frames 1-42, FD Papers, DLC; see, e.g., William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1991), 324-33.

about his foreign travels in the augmented version of *Life and Times*.⁴ He also drafted and delivered speeches about his trip abroad.⁵ But the diary itself remained unpublished during Douglass's lifetime.

The trip that Douglass records in his diary was not his first trip overseas. When Douglass crossed the Atlantic Ocean in September 1886, it was his third trip abroad. His first was in 1845 as an escaped slave who had just written his first autobiography. The leaders of the antislavery movement, fearing that the fugitive slave would be caught and returned to his master, sent him to Great Britain. Consigned to steerage aboard the *Cambria* due to his race, Douglass arrived in Liverpool to begin a series of antislavery lectures in Great Britain and Ireland until the purchase of his freedom in 1846, at which time he returned to the United States.⁶

His second trip abroad was in 1859 after John Brown's insurrection at Harper's Ferry attempted to free the slaves by violent means. After Brown's capture, authorities found a letter from Douglass among Brown's papers, leading to a call for Douglass's arrest as one of Brown's allies. Douglass, who had planned to travel abroad anyway, left precipitously to flee to Canada and then to Great Britain, evading United States marshals seeking to arrest him. Again Douglass delivered a series of

⁴Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Boston, 1892), 674-716.

⁵John W. Blassingame et al., eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers; Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*, 5 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 5:263-73, 278-338 (hereafter cited as *Douglass Papers*).

⁶For more information on the life of Frederick Douglass, see Douglass, *Life and Times; Douglass Papers*, ser. 2, 1 & 2; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*; Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1968).

antislavery lectures overseas until March 1860, when the death of his daughter Annie brought him home to Rochester.

In 1886 Douglass embarked on a sentimental journey to visit old friends he met on his first trip in England and Ireland. He traveled not as a fugitive, either from slavery or the law, but as a tourist. Rather than being driven by a schedule of speaking engagements and an antislavery zeal, Douglass had no itinerary and no cause on this trip, except to renew friendships and enjoy the sights.

On this trip his second wife, Helen Pitts Douglass, accompanied him. When Douglass traveled overseas the first two times, his first wife, Anna Murray Douglass, an uneducated black woman, stayed home to raise their children, to provide a livelihood for them, and to manage the household. On this pleasure trip Helen, a white woman who was a college graduate and twenty years younger than Douglass, was at his side to enjoy the adventure. After traveling first class on one of the most luxurious steamships of the day, Douglass himself noted the difference, writing, “I am again on the soil of dear old England. The contrast between my present visit and that of 1845 is striking. Then I came as a slave, now I come as a freeman; then as an alien, now as a citizen; then I was young, now I am comparatively old; then to plead the cause of my brethren in bonds, now to tell of their freedom and progress.”⁷ As the differences that age, memory, and purpose render the various Douglass autobiographies worthy of study, so too do the various trips abroad merit research because of those differences. The Douglass of the 1886 foreign excursion was a

⁷New York *Times*, 17 October 1886.

markedly different man from the one who made the earlier trips abroad, with a different purpose and under extremely different circumstances.

While the stated purpose of the trip was to visit his supporters and friends of forty-one years earlier, the itinerary entailed more than that. The tour also included a long-awaited trip to the Continent, namely to Paris, for the winter. Douglass had wanted to go there for long time. He tried to go to Paris when he was in England in 1859, but the American minister to Great Britain at the time, George M. Dallas, refused to issue Douglass a passport on the grounds that, as a black man, he was not a citizen of the United States. According to Douglass's long-time paramour, Otilie Assing, Douglass promised to join her in Paris in 1876, claiming that he was particularly eager to visit, but he did not travel there.⁸ Thus the 1886 trip abroad was not merely a return to places Douglass had already visited, but was also a foray into new territory, a symbolic victory over the racism of an earlier day, and a journey that would remind him of a former lover and unfulfilled promises.

Because the Douglasses were not driven by an agenda of scheduled lectures, their travel plans remained fluid, though the initial leg of their journey went as planned. They departed New York on 15 September 1886 and arrived in Liverpool eight days later. After a week in Liverpool, the Douglasses traveled to Saint Neots, the home of Douglass's long-time friend and perhaps lover, Julia Griffiths Crofts, who had helped Douglass publish his newspaper from 1849 to 1855. The Douglasses

⁸Maria Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines: Otilie Assing and Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1999), 322.

stayed in Saint Neots for a week and then journeyed to London for a two-week stay. From mid-October to the beginning of January 1887 the Douglasses were in Paris. As Douglass wrote to a friend, their sojourn thus far was the only part of their travels that had been definitely planned when they left home.⁹ What happened next altered the nature of the trip and signaled a significant milestone in Douglass's life.

At some point while in Paris, the Douglasses decided to extend their travels to make a "grand tour," a phrase borrowed in the nineteenth century from the British. The grand tour for Americans in the nineteenth century involved traveling through Europe on certain routes established by the British upper class in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At a minimum, the grand tour included extensive travel in Britain, followed by a sojourn through France and Italy. Typically the journey from Paris to Italy included stops in Lyons, Avignon, Arles, and Nice. The Italian leg usually began with Genoa, followed by Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, and Padua. Grand tours characteristically ended with ventures through Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries of Belgium and the Netherlands.¹⁰

The grand tour for the Douglasses took them through France, traveling south from Paris with overnight or multi-night stays in Dijon, Lyons, Avignon, Marseilles, and Nice. Upon reaching Italy in mid-January 1887, the Douglasses spent two days in

⁹Douglass to Francis Grimké, 1 September 1887, in Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, ed. Philip S. Foner, 5 vols. (New York, 1955), 4:447.

¹⁰Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1964), 68-70; Paul Finkelman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century*, 3 vols. (New York, 2001), 2:1-2.

Genoa and a day in Pisa before spending over a week in Rome. From Rome they traveled south to Naples, where they remained for about two weeks.

The Douglasses ended their grand tour by going from Naples back to Rome, where they stayed for over a month. Next was Florence for a week, Venice for three days, and Milan for two. In Switzerland the Douglasses spent four days in Lucern before returning to Paris for a week. Thus the grand tour for the Douglasses had all the components of the day.

Nevertheless the Douglasses did not limit their grand tour to Europe. Midway through their tour when they were in Naples, the Douglasses decided to extend their tour to Egypt and Greece, destinations that were not part of their plan when they left home.¹¹ The Douglasses also contemplated a trip to the Holy Land, a detour that did not materialize.¹² After spending the nights in Isma'îliya and Port Sa'îd upon entering Egypt, the Douglasses arrived in Cairo in mid-February and intended to leave for Alexandria a week later.¹³ They remained in Cairo nearly three weeks longer than planned, arriving in Alexandria in mid-March. After two days there, the Douglasses sailed to Athens, staying there one week. Thus not only was the trip to Egypt and Greece an impromptu diversion, it also had considerably more time dedicated to it.

¹¹Douglass to Lewis Douglass, 11 February 1887, FD Collection, DHU.

¹²J.C. Fletcher to Douglass, 17 February 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frame 455, FD Papers, DLC.

¹³Douglass to Lewis Douglass, 20 February 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 32, frames 120-23, FD Papers, DLC.

There were several reasons why Americans traveled abroad, and specifically why so many went in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In fact the number of Americans traveling abroad by the 1880s more than doubled the pre-Civil War level.¹⁴ On a practical level faster railway systems and steamships that were floating hotels made traveling more pleasant,¹⁵ a fact Douglass notes when he writes in his diary of the “wondrous improvements in steam navigation.”¹⁶ Secondly, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the expense of foreign travel began to fall within the means of middle class families, and the expanding American middle class found it economically feasible to go on grand tours.¹⁷ Thus tourists like the Douglasses could afford to sail as cabin passengers en route and stay in first class hotels while traveling.

On a practical level the Douglasses had an additional incentive to travel at this point in time. Grover Cleveland had been elected president in 1884, the first Democrat in the White House since the Civil War. Once inaugurated Cleveland eventually requested the resignation of Douglass from his post as recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, a high-paying job Douglass had held since 1881 when fellow Republican James Garfield appointed him to the post.¹⁸ Once Douglass’s

¹⁴Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, 102.

¹⁵William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, 1994), 8; Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, 46.

¹⁶Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 11, FD Papers, DLC.

¹⁷Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, 102; Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 6.

¹⁸For more details of Cleveland’s request for Douglass’s resignation, see Douglass, *Life and Times*, 644-47.

replacement had been confirmed, Douglass felt at liberty to travel at a leisure pace abroad.¹⁹

Americans had reasons other than comfort and convenience for traveling abroad. Some Americans traveled abroad to do research or to pursue academic interests.²⁰ Examples of these types of people encountered by the Douglasses include Sanger Brown, traveling to London to participate in scientific experiments, and Daniel Willard Fiske, an educator who collected rare books on Icelandic history and literature in Florence. Even Douglass himself admits that the primary reason he traveled to Egypt was to study ethnology.²¹ Whether academic, scientific, or theoretical in purpose, the gathering of information was one of the reasons Americans journeyed overseas.

Another group of travelers were artists seeking training or inspiration.²² Examples from the Douglasses' trip include Izora Chandler, an art teacher who was traveling to Egypt and Palestine for health reasons, but planned to make the trip subordinate to her art studies. Others include Adelia Gates, a long-term traveler who painted wildflowers, and the sculptress Edmonia Lewis, an expatriate living in Rome.

¹⁹Douglass to Francis Grimké, 24 April 1886, in Douglass, *The Life and Writings*, 4:442-43.

²⁰Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, 121-23.

²¹See Audrey McCluskey and John McCluskey, "Frederick Douglass on Ethnology: A Commencement Address at Western Reserve College, 1854," *NHB*, 40:747-49 (September-October 1977).

²²Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, 123-26.

Though the degree of commitment varied, all three were seeking to hone their artistic skills abroad.

In addition to artists, writers were another group traveling abroad for cultural reasons. Some authors returned to America to write scholarly works on foreign cultures.²³ The two books that the Douglasses read on the trip across the Atlantic are examples. Ralph Waldo Emerson's *English Traits* and *England Without and Within* by Richard Grant White are discourses on English society written after the authors traveled there.

Other authors wrote specifically about their travels abroad once they returned. Travel chronicles in the nineteenth century were immensely popular, as were travel speeches on the lecture circuit. In fact Americans had published over eighteen hundred foreign travel accounts by 1900, the vast majority of them in the nineteenth century. The easy format and reliable subject matter almost ensured their success.²⁴ Douglass was typical in that he wrote about his foreign travels in the augmented version of *Life and Times* and he drafted speeches about his trip abroad. These publications, however, were an afterthought and not the reason for the tour.

Other Americans traveled in order to obtain culture and tradition thought to be lacking in the United States. Compared to America, the "Old World" offered a richer

²³Ibid., 116-19.

²⁴Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 4, 11-12; Ahmed M. Metwalli, "Americans Abroad: The Popular Art of Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century," in *America: Exploration and Travel*, ed. Steven E. Kagel (Bowling Green, Ohio, 1979), 68-82

heritage sought by many nineteenth century Americans.²⁵ Thus Douglass writes in a letter to his daughter-in-law Amelia that the ruins of Rome “speak of a civilization that existed before our continent was discovered and of religion before Jesus Christ was born—or dreamed of.”²⁶ The discovery and exploration of that Roman civilization led Douglass to search even further back in time for earlier cultures and hence another reason for the Douglasses’ trip to Egypt and Greece.²⁷ The amazement Douglass expresses at the age of ancient Greek temples and the thrill he experiences seeing places where the apostle Paul had visited were reactions to the tradition and culture Americans sought abroad.

Other motives for overseas sojourns involved establishing or elevating one’s status in society. Traveling abroad in the nineteenth century was a way for someone to claim the respect of the American public and to confirm the respectability of one’s social status and race.²⁸ Douglass demonstrates his place among the upper-middle class by the people with whom he associates himself on his journey. For the most part those people he identifies in his travel diary are distinguished in their field, such as politicians, judges, diplomats, missionaries, educators, and authors. Moreover the Douglasses acknowledge that he is often recognized during their journey by mentioning the number of people who approach him or ask to be introduced to him.

²⁵Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 5.

²⁶Douglass to Amelia Douglass, 29 April 1887, Misc. Mss., NN.

²⁷Robert. S. Levine, “Road to Africa: Frederick Douglass’s Rome,” *African American Review*, 34:217-31 (2000).

²⁸Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 5.

Newspapers printed accounts of their journey.²⁹ Thus the company Douglass keeps on his journey and the way society reacts to him and news of his travels affirm his status in society.

Concerning his race, Douglass discovers in his travel abroad a general absence of racism in Europe. Douglass finds that the public in France and England “are sound in their convictions and feelings concerning the colored race,” and that blacks are treated in general as equals.³⁰ Moreover Helen notes that as she and Douglass promenade through Liverpool, people would look at Douglass but “wear no unpleasant expression.”³¹ In contrast Douglass notes that American writers have portrayed blacks to the Europeans as worthless, and that American racists had exported to Europe Ethiopian minstrels whose distorted features and burlesque manner mock blacks as ape-like.³² Nevertheless, Douglass observes in Egypt that all the different races are equally adept at working, serving to dispel this notion. Thus in his travels Douglass finds that his race is in fact and in effect equal, despite the racial prejudice exported from America.

²⁹New York *Times*, 17 October 1886; Philadelphia *Christian Recorder*, 10 February 1887.

³⁰Douglass to Lewis Hayden and Henry Watson, 19 November 1886, in Douglass, *Life and Writings*, 4:444-47; Theodore Stanton, “Frederick Douglass in Paris,” *Open Court*, 1:151-53 (28 April 1887).

³¹Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 76, FD Papers, DLC.

³²Douglass to Lewis Hayden and Henry Watson, 19 November 1886, in Douglass, *Life and Writings*, 4:444-47

Their motives for traveling were not the only factor that shaped the nature of the Douglasses' tour. They, along with many nineteenth century travelers, used the standard European guidebooks to assist them in planning their itinerary. At the time the two most popular and well-established series of travel guides were Baedeker's and Murray's, with the first Murray published in 1836 and the first Baedeker translated to English in 1861.³³ These guides cover distinct areas, such as countries, regions, or cities, and offer advice on traveling routes, accommodations, places of interest, history, and local custom and culture. Describing everything in minute detail, the travel books utilize a ranking system, such as stars, to denote the importance of a sight.³⁴ Thus these guidebooks offer options and recommendations to the tourist to optimize the scope of the journey and to ease the burden of the trip.

Even if Douglass had not referred to reading a guidebook in his diary, other evidence points to the fact that the Douglasses were consulting them in their travels. The guidebooks list all of the hotels in which the Douglasses stayed. Moreover the corrections in Douglass's diary indicate that after he wrote a journal entry he often consulted a guidebook for spelling or for specific information and then corrected his diary entry. For example, Douglass originally wrote that the Temple of the Olympian Zeus in Athens had "a few" pillars standing, and he later crossed this out to write fifteen, the exact number. Likewise Douglass corrected the spelling of Dionysus from

³³Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 29; Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, 56.

³⁴Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 35; Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, 104.

Dyonisus, a phonetic spelling.³⁵ Whether the Douglasses are walking the walls of Chester, England, or visiting the ostrich farm outside Heliopolis, Egypt, they are doing so in all likelihood at the recommendation of Murray or Baedeker. Thus the Douglasses used the travel guides to facilitate their journey and to direct them to the points of interest along the way.

The guidebooks had more of an effect on the Douglasses' tour than simply facilitating their travels. These travel guides generally only discuss the well known, the well off, and the entertaining.³⁶ In this regard these books direct tourists to the same experiences with similar tourists. The guidebooks ensure that tourists visit all the important sights to obtain culture and the respect of the American public. By directing tourists to the same sights, the guidebooks also encourage travelers to interact with others of similar standing, reinforcing class distinctions. Thus the guidebooks helped the Douglasses affirm the respectability of their class by directing them to all the important stations on the tour. In addition the recommendations of the guidebooks provided a company of fellow travelers to share in their experience.

While on their tour the Douglasses also kept diaries, another common activity among travelers. While tourists had various motives for keeping travel diaries, some wrote in them to break the tediousness of the voyage overseas.³⁷ This is the impression given by Helen's diary as she describes in detail the dining saloon of the

³⁵Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 35, FD Papers, DLC.

³⁶Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 47-48.

³⁷Dulles, *Americans Abroad*, 51.

ship where she is writing in her diary. In fact her diary only covers the first three weeks of their trip. Once the Douglasses reach London, her travel diary ends, leaving only an account of their voyage on the *City of Rome*, their time in Liverpool, and their visit with Julia Griffiths Crofts in Saint Neots.

Some travelers had more practical motives for recording their trip. They kept a travel chronicle to aid them in publishing an account of their sojourn or to prepare a lecture on the tour.³⁸ While Douglass later wrote speeches about his grand tour and added chapters in his augmented third autobiography to cover his travels, this was not his intent in writing the journals in the first place. From Cairo Douglass wrote to his son Lewis, "I have little time to write. . . . I am not writing anything for publication."³⁹ Some of Douglass's letters from abroad did appear in newspapers, a practice common in the nineteenth century for well-known public figures traveling overseas.⁴⁰ These include a letter to Lewis Hayden and Henry Watson and one to Theodore Stanton.⁴¹ From Douglass's own statement, however, it appears that he never intended to publish these letters.

Nor does his travel diary record the original purpose of his trip, the sentimental journey to visit old friends. He does mention in passing some of these

³⁸Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 11-12.

³⁹Douglass to Lewis Douglass, 20 February 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 32, frames 120-23, FD Papers, DLC.

⁴⁰Stowe, *Going Abroad*, 3.

⁴¹Douglass to Lewis Hayden and Henry Watson, 19 November 1886, in the Philadelphia *Christian Recorder*, 10 February 1887; Douglass to Theodore Stanton, 10 May 1887, in the New York *Independent*, 23 May 1895.

people, such as Isabella Mills, Arthur John Naish, and Helen Priestman Bright Clark, but mostly to note that he received letters from them. He records nothing of their visit with Julia Griffiths Crofts or Anna and Ellen Richardson, two women who spearheaded the raising of funds to purchase Douglass's freedom in 1846. Indeed Douglass writes nothing of his stay in Ireland and his visit with old acquaintances such as the Webb family, who were instrumental in publishing Douglass's first autobiography abroad.

In keeping a travel diary, Douglass's motive was quite simple. As he explained to his son Lewis, "I am keeping a diary and shall I live to get home be able to talk to you of my journeys."⁴² In essence Douglass kept his travel diary to record what he saw to recount it orally to others.

The simplicity of these purposes does not mean that the diaries are not revealing of the personalities and thoughts of the Douglasses or insightful as to their relationship. For example, she was devoted to him, as shown by her practice after he died of not allowing anyone to sit in his chair and kissing the back of it before every meal.⁴³ She demonstrates her admiration in her diary when she writes about how eager she is for him to give a speech aboard the *City of Rome* and how it was over before anyone was ready for him to stop.⁴⁴ He, in turn, praises her initiative when she

⁴²Douglass to Lewis Douglass, 11 February 1887, FD Collection, DHU.

⁴³Georgiana Rose Simpson, "A Tribute to Helen Pitts Douglass," *NHB*, 7:131-32 (March 1944).

⁴⁴Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 61, FD Papers, DLC.

becomes acquainted with the steamship's pilot and spots the captain.⁴⁵ Their diaries reveal not only how well the Douglasses travel together, but how they enjoy each other's company and appreciate each other's gifts.

In addition the diaries reveal the personalities of the Douglasses in several instances. He expresses his embarrassment over his thoughts concerning Victoria Woodhull, formerly an advocate of free love, when she calls on him in Rome. He displays his humor when he writes about a town that supposedly has nice looking women, commenting that all of them must have been inside while he was there. His anger flares when he writes about the plight of women in Egypt who are treated like property. Douglass demonstrates fatigue at seeing so many religious paintings when he, as Hawthorne would say, "grew acquainted with that icy demon of weariness, who haunts great picture galleries."⁴⁶ She shows her snide side when she writes that she is amused to watch a seasick Izora Chandler board the tug for Queenstown, Ireland, "like a poor little martyr, her triumphant air all vanished."⁴⁷ Her compassion emerges when she writes of the poor children of Liverpool. Thus the diaries reveal the Douglasses' relationship and personalities in ways that other public writings would not.

The diaries are also useful to compare Douglass's account of his travels at the time to his later recollections in his speeches and in *Life and Times*. For example

⁴⁵Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 2, FD Papers, DLC.

⁴⁶Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun: Or, the Romance of Monte Beni*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1860), 2:132.

⁴⁷Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 69, FD Papers, DLC.

Douglass writes in his speech and in *Life and Times* that on his voyage from Naples to Egypt, “air, sea and sky assumed their most amiable behavior.”⁴⁸ In his diary Douglass records that the wild behavior of the Mediterranean Sea made most of the passengers seasick, including Helen and himself. It is possible that the voyage was not as pleasant as Douglass later remembers it.

Other more substantive differences between the diary and the published accounts of his tour exist. Douglass at times appears to soften his rhetoric when he speaks or writes publicly than when he writes about the same subject in his diary. For example when Douglass describes the torture chambers at Avignon, he writes in his diary that he almost hated the name of the Roman Catholic Church, a statement he does not repeat in either his speech or in *Life and Times*.⁴⁹ At other times Douglass seems to change his view from the diary to the speech to the autobiography. For example he praises in his diary the absence of racial prejudice in Islam. Douglass accords that same praise to Catholicism in his speech, but omits any mention of racial equality in Islam.⁵⁰ In *Life and Times*, Douglass does not praise either religion for its absence of racism. These types of differences revealed by the diary provide researchers with the material and the background for further study.

Finally the travel diaries are significant in that they record an experience that had a profound impact on Douglass. His sense of self-awareness is evident in his

⁴⁸*Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 5:330; Douglass, *Life and Times*, 703.

⁴⁹*Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 5:312-13; Douglass, *Life and Times*, 685-86.

⁵⁰*Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 5:302.

diary as he notes on his way to Egypt how far he had come in life, beginning as a slave and then as a tourist abroad. He was not ready for his journey to end, writing to Helen that he wished he could stay another month or two.⁵¹ Towards the end of his journey he reflects on the significance of his tour, writing, “When I consider my starting point in life, it is marvellous that I have accomplished so much—but I feel that it has all come too late in life. I should have travelled this when I was younger, and when my ambition for achievement was more vigorous.”⁵² Thus Douglass exhibits an appreciation for his travel experience, an ability to place the experience in perspective, and a desire for continued growth from that experience.

In conclusion the travel diaries of Douglass and his wife of their grand tour provide insight to the life of Douglass as he travels abroad for the third time, but the first time as a tourist and not as a fugitive. He is older, more established, and accompanied by an educated wife on this trip. His purpose in traveling is pleasure, and not to lecture on the antislavery circuit as in the past. Once abroad the Douglasses decide to expand their sojourn to include a traditional grand tour through Europe, adding a leg through Egypt and Greece. By recording their travels in their diaries, the Douglasses provide an unfiltered account of their experiences, one that can be compared to two later published accounts of their travels by Douglass. The diaries also provide insight into the personality of the Douglasses and their relationship.

⁵¹Douglass to Helen Pitts Douglass, 12 July 1887, Williston Memorial Library, MShM.

⁵²Douglass to Amy Post, 10 June 1887, Post Papers, NRU.

Finally the diaries show Douglass's sense of self-awareness and perspective as he makes this third and final trip abroad in the form of a grand tour.

Editorial Theory and Method

The texts presented in this edition are critical and unmodernized. They are critical because they contain certain editorial changes intended to bring the texts closer to the intent of the authors and do not attempt to reproduce exactly the manuscript form of the texts. They are unmodernized in that there is no attempt to alter the texts to conform them to modern conventions of grammar and style in a consistent manner.¹

The texts presented in this volume are the travel diaries kept by Douglass and his second wife, Helen Pitts Douglass, on their tour abroad in 1886-87. Each one kept a leather-bound diary, with the first entry of each describing the beginning of their trip. Both diaries contain material at the end not related to their tour and therefore not part of the texts presented. Douglass's last entry on his travels abroad was on 5 June 1887.² Following this are two pages of names and addresses, a journal entry dated 17 March 1894, two more pages of names and addresses, a household ledger from 1888, and a journal entry dated 14 June 1888.³ None of the materials appearing after the 5 June 1887 entry is linked to the travel diary, either in subject or in time, so that this material is not part of the text of Douglass's travel diary in this edition.

Likewise, Helen's last entry on their European travels is 6 October 1886.⁴ The remaining entries in her diary consist of a page on the derivation of various fruits, a page

¹Herman Melville, *The Writings of Herman Melville*, ed. Harrison Hayford, 15 vols. (Evanston, Ill., 1967-93), 14:824, 15:236.

²Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 42, FD Papers, DLC.

³Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frames 43-48, FD Papers, DLC.

⁴Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frames 86-87, FD Papers, DLC.

on the measurements of an unidentified ship, a page of notes on the Peloponnesian War, and ten pages on the uses of a battery and shock therapy for treatment of apoplexy, dyspepsia, diabetes, and retention of urine.⁵ Because none of the material in Helen's diary after the 6 October 1886 entry is related to the couple's foreign travels, the text of Helen's diary presented in this scholarly edition ends with the entry dated 6 October 1886.

A second limitation on the texts presented concerns marks made in pencil in the travel diaries. Critical editors of private writings such as diaries must discern whether any features of the manuscript were the product of someone other than the author. Because these marks may have been made without the consent of the author, they may not reflect the author's intention and therefore should not be included in the text presented.⁶

In the case at hand, both diaries contain several marks in pencil that are different from marks made by the Douglasses. Both diaries contain several checkmarks over certain words or phrases and have other passages underlined in pencil. In addition Douglass's diary has marginalia that highlight certain passages. These marks differ from the underlining in ink that the Douglasses did or their cancelled or corrected writing.

This edition of the texts does not include the notations in pencil for several reasons. First, Douglass did not routinely write in pencil, and his journal entries are written entirely in ink. While the first nine sentences in Helen's journal are written in pencil, she switched to pen in the tenth sentence and did not diverge from this practice for the remainder of her diary. Thus the fact that the marks are in pencil, not typically used

⁵Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frames 88-95, FD Papers, DLC.

⁶Melville, *Writings*, 14:824, 15:236.

by the Douglasses, renders them suspect as the work of someone other than the Douglasses.

Second, the marginalia in Douglass's diary and the checkmarks in both diaries are not the types of marks that either of the Douglasses commonly made. Although both of the Douglasses underlined words in their diaries, they consistently used a pen to do so. Hence the unusualness of the marks also calls them into question as not being the marks of the Douglasses.

Finally, the text in the diaries highlighted by these marks is not the type that the Douglasses logically would have selected. Descriptions in his diary that Douglass later repeated in letters, speeches, and his third autobiography were not highlighted. For example his use of the phrase "narrowest, queerest, and crookedest" to describe a town in France is not highlighted in his diary.⁷ He uses a phrase very similar to this, however, to describe a French town in a letter to his son Lewis, in a speech he wrote after his return from the tour abroad, and in his autobiography when he recounted his travels years later.⁸ Other phrases in the diary describing workers who "clamored like wild fowl," "pelicans looking in the distance like a line of white foam, along the shore of the sea," and the unchanging Egyptian plow "like the laws of the Medes and Persians," are repeated in a

⁷Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 13, FD Papers, DLC.

⁸Douglass to Lewis Douglass, 24 January 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frame 450, FD Papers, DLC; *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 5:314; Douglass, *Life and Times*, 687.

letter, but are not marked for reference.⁹ Douglass records in his diary a lengthy list of relics he sees at the Vatican, a list he repeats later in a speech and in his autobiography.¹⁰ In all likelihood Douglass consulted his diary to refresh his recollection, but the list is not highlighted in the diary.

In contrast, those phrases marked by checks and underlined are not ones that the Douglasses later wrote about or referenced. These include his mentioning their visit to Saint Neots and her reaction to spending the night in the house of Julia Griffiths Crofts, both of which are checked.¹¹ While these incidents are perhaps of interest to researchers of Douglass's personal relationships, they are not the subject of public comment by the Douglasses, and it is highly unlikely that either of the Douglasses marked these passages to draw attention to them. Therefore the marks in pencil are not included in this edition because they are in all likelihood the product of a third party and not the Douglasses.

After determining what texts will be presented the next step is to determine the level of editorial intervention appropriate for these travel diaries. On one extreme is to present the text *literatim*, without critical editing except as necessary to transcribe handwritten material into print.¹² On the other is to present the text as silently emended text, conforming the text to standard practices without indicating where such alterations

⁹Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frames 28-30, Douglass to Lewis Douglass, 20 February 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 32, frames 120-21, FD Papers, DLC.

¹⁰Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 20, FD Papers, DLC; *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 5:326; Douglass, *Life and Times*, 700.

¹¹Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 10, Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 82, FD Papers, DLC.

¹²Melville, *Writings*, 14:824.

occurred.¹³ This edition, similar to others, aims at a “middle ground between pedantic fidelity and readability.”¹⁴ To this end the editorial method will utilize some standardized changes to the text, while retaining the idiosyncrasies of the authors so as not to change the essence of the documents.

The range of editorial intervention is related to the differences between public and private documents. Public writings, prepared with a general audience in mind, are of the type intended for publication, including drafts, outlines, and lectures. Writings such as these require a higher level of editorial intervention, similar to what an editor would undertake when publishing the text.¹⁵ These changes may include correcting misspelled words or incorrect grammar, as well as rewriting awkward passages.

On the other hand private writings are those intended only for a particular reader, perhaps only the writer himself. These writings are clearly personal in nature, and they include letters, diaries, and journals. Less extensive editorial intervention is necessary or appropriate in that these writings were never intended for public presentation and would never be the subject of editorial review.¹⁶

Of course a diary can be a public writing if the author wrote it with the intent that it would be published. In the case at hand, there is no evidence that Helen Pitts Douglass

¹³G. Thomas Tanselle, *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing* (Charlottesville, Va., 1990), 227.

¹⁴John Adams, *The Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 1:1vi.

¹⁵Charles S. Peirce, *Charles S. Peirce: A Chronological Edition*, ed. Nathan Houser et al., 6 vols. to date (Bloomington, Ind., 1982–), 6:543; Tanselle, *Textual Criticism*, 13–17.

¹⁶Peirce, *Charles S. Peirce*, 6:543; Tanselle, *Textual Criticism*, 6–13.

ever intended to make her diary public. Nevertheless Douglass himself did make his accounts of his travels public, once in a series of speeches and again in his third autobiography. The question then becomes whether Douglass intended to publish an account of his travels at the time he wrote the entries in his diary.

Douglass makes it clear in his diary that he did not know whether he would ever lecture on his travels. He writes that he “shall probably have occasion” to speak of his travels at some point, but this was not certain.¹⁷ Thus Douglass did not write his diary with the intent that he would present it to the public in the form of a speech.

Moreover, circumstances make it clear that Douglass had no intention of revising his third autobiography, *Life and Times*, to include an account of his travels abroad when he kept his diary. The decision to expand and republish *Life and Times* occurred after 1890 when Douglass became minister to Haiti. At this time De Wolfe, Fiske and Company bought the plates from the first publisher.¹⁸ Douglass himself wrote to a friend, Marshall Pierce, in 1892 that at the request of the publisher, he was adding an account of the last ten years to *Life and Times*, even though he thought he had finished his autobiographical writing.¹⁹ Thus Douglass did not keep his travel diary with the intent to make it public in the form of an expanded edition of *Life and Times*, even though the travels were part of that expanded edition. As such the diaries of the Douglasses are purely personal in nature and private writings.

¹⁷Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 14, FD Papers, DLC.

¹⁸Quarles, *Frederick Douglass*, 337.

¹⁹Douglass to Marshall Pierce, 18 February 1892, FD Collection, DHU.

For diaries not intended for publication, the “final intention” of the author is whatever form the manuscript is in at the time of the author’s death. Such writings have no limits placed on their idiosyncrasies, such as abbreviations and symbols. The author of a private diary “has no obligation to meet any public conventions of decorum or even intelligibility.”²⁰ To change this through extensive editorial intervention would change the essential nature of the document. Therefore minimal intervention is appropriate, as reflected in the editorial method of this edition.

Of course any transcription of a handwritten document results in a loss of evidence of the author’s state of mind at the time of the writing. Poor penmanship may be the result of excitement or fatigue. Crossed out words may be obliterated, indicating the author’s desire that no one ever see what was written. Yet with fewer editorial interventions and following the final intention of the authors, the texts prepared in this edition offer more evidence of the state of mind and writing habits of Douglass and his second wife at the time the diaries were kept.

With the preceding theories and conclusions in mind, this edition adopted the following editorial practices in transcribing the handwritten diaries to typescript. These practices attempt to assure the faithfulness and accuracy of the transcript to the travel diaries while providing some uniform and logical changes to assist the reader that standardize the presentation of the travel diaries and (in rare cases) supply missing punctuation or capitalization that aid in reader comprehension of the text.

²⁰Tanselle, *Textual Criticism*, 6-7.

JOURNAL ENTRY HEADINGS

The heading of each journal entry is the date as supplied by the authors of the travel diaries, notwithstanding the position of the date in the journal entry. The dates appear flush left in bold print. The dates are presented in standardized form of day of the week, followed by the full date. Abbreviated date components are spelled out by the editor. Parts of the date that have been supplied are included in square brackets, and when necessary the initial word of the diary entry has been capitalized in brackets. Where dates supplied by the author are inconsistent or incorrect, they are presented as written in the journal entry and corrected in footnotes. Multiple journal entries can appear under the same date. Because the texts are travel diaries, the place of composition for each journal entry is not supplied, as it would be superfluous.

PARAGRAPHS

Writers in the nineteenth century commonly ended a paragraph midline and returned flush left to begin a new paragraph, a technique that Douglass routinely used.²¹ Despite the fact that the Douglasses routinely used this technique to begin new paragraphs in their travel diaries, this transcript of the travel diaries uses standardized paragraph indentation. Paragraphs, though standardized, are not supplied.

SPELLING

Spelling is preserved as found in the diaries. Misspelled words are not marked by [sic]. When misspelling occurs in the transcript of the travel diaries, the reader may

²¹Jefferson Davis, *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, ed. Haskell M. Monroe, Jr. and James T. McIntosh, 10 vols. (Baton Rouge, 1971), 1:xxvi; see, e.g., Douglass to Amy Post, 10 June 1887, Post Papers, NRU; Douglass to Helen Pitts Douglass, 12 July 1887, Williston Memorial Library, MShM.

assume that the presentation is literal and intended, and not a typographical error. If the misspelling obscures the sense of the word, a footnote provides the word spelled correctly.

CAPITALIZATION

The transcript retains the capitalization as found in the travel diaries. Even words capitalized for no apparent reason remain capitalized. The authors are given the benefit of the doubt when their intent to capitalize is unclear.

SLIPS OF THE PEN

Following the rule of *verbatim et literatim*, slips of the pen, such as recording the same word twice, are uncorrected and not marked by [*sic*].

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations have been retained. When necessary abbreviations have been explained in footnotes.

INTERLINEATIONS, MARGINALIA, AND CANCELLED PASSAGES

The transcription incorporates interlineated passages and marginalia silently into the text at the point indicated by the authors of the travel diaries. Marginalia written by the author that are clearly extratextual, generally written as pagination, are not reproduced in the transcript. Letters, words, and phrases struck out by the author are omitted without editorial comment.

SUPERSCRPTION AND ITALICS

Superscription has been lowered, and words underlined once in the text have been printed in italics in the transcript.

MISSING WORDS

An illegible word that is not conjecturable is marked by three bracketed ellipses points. Where a blank space appears in the travel diaries, indicating an intent on the part of the author to return later to complete the information, a bracketed blank space appears in the transcript. Sentences or words that are not complete in the travel diaries remain incomplete in the transcript. When sentences end abruptly or words end prematurely, the reader may assume that the presentation is literal and intended, and not an editorial error.

TERMINAL PUNCTUATION AND EDITORIAL INSERTIONS

When a completed sentence does not have terminal punctuation, the appropriate punctuation mark is inserted in brackets. In cases where independent clauses are not separated by punctuation or joined by a coordinating conjunction, terminal punctuation is inserted in brackets after the first independent clause, and the first word of the following sentence is capitalized, as marked by brackets.

NONTEXTUAL ELEMENTS

Drawings that appear in the travel diaries are reproduced as facsimiles at the appropriate place in the transcript.

TEXTUAL VERIFICATION

After initial transcription and before editing, all members of the Frederick Douglass Papers Project ensured that the transcribed travel diaries matched as closely as possible the original documents, as reproduced by digital photocopy from the microfilm version of the Frederick Douglass Papers prepared by the Library of Congress. This process included noting the presence of marginalia, cancelled passages, interlineations, missing words, and nontextual elements, as well as verifying any superscription, underlining, and capitalization. First, the transcriber proofread against the document photocopies that he transcribed, correcting his own typing errors. In the second step, a member of the editorial staff read the photocopies of the diaries aloud to another member of the staff, who verified the accuracy of the transcription. Staff members repeated this last step two more times, with no staff member either reading or verifying the accuracy of the documents more than once. In the final step, a member of the editorial staff checked the transcription against the original diaries in the Frederick Douglass Papers at the Library of Congress.

ANNOTATION OF TRAVEL DIARIES

Numbered footnotes contain clarification of the travel diaries without attempting to be exhaustive. Generally limited to 150 words, notes most often contain biographical information, including full names whenever possible, as well as birth and death dates parenthetically following the name. Such notes generally include the person's education and vocation, geographic attachment, and the individual's relationship to Douglass or his second wife, Helen Pitts Douglass. Place names, including cities, towns, geographic

features, buildings, and monuments comprise the second largest category of identification. The notes also contain explanations of events mentioned in the diaries, as well as quotations and intentional literary or historical allusions, and other miscellaneous information such as concepts, publications, and foreign words and phrases. Corrected dates of the diary entries are also provided in the notes. Annotations are not cross-referenced.

Travel Diary of
Frederick Douglass

[Wednesday,] 15 September 1886

“Steamer City of Rome”¹

We, Helen² and I, came on board this steamer yesterday and spent the night in state room 92, and sailed on our long desired and long meditated voyage at six and a half o’clock

¹Built by the Inman Line and launched in 1881, the steamship *City of Rome* serviced the Atlantic route after the Anchor Line purchased the ship. Considered one of the most beautiful ships of the period, the 560-foot long screw steamer weighed 8,144 tons and was one of the last steamers built for the Inman Line. C[harles] R[ichard] Benstead, *Atlantic Ferry* (London, 1936), 136, 241; H[ereward] P[hilip] Spratt, *Outline History of Transatlantic Steam Navigation* (London, 1950), 36.

²Helen Pitts Douglass (1838-1903) was the second wife of Douglass, marrying him in 1884 after his first wife, Anna Murray Douglass, died two years earlier. Helen was the oldest child of Gideon and Jane Wells Pitts, a prosperous farming family and active abolitionists from Honeoye, New York, who first met Douglass while he was on an antislavery speech tour in the 1840s. A graduate of Mount Holyoke College in 1859, Helen taught black children in Norfolk, Virginia, for three years. Health problems forced her to return to Honeoye for three years. After a brief teaching experience in 1878 in Huntington, Indiana, Helen settled in Washington, D.C., landing a job with the *Alpha*, a radical feminist newspaper. She lived with her uncle, Hiram Pitts, who was one of Douglass’s neighbors. In 1882 Douglass, who was recorder of deeds at the time, hired Helen to work in the Recorder’s Office. A family friend, Francis J. Grimké, married them on 24 January 1884, catching both families off guard and evoking an adverse reaction from family members. Relations between Helen and his children remained civil, if not close, until Douglass died. Thereafter the children contested his will and fought Helen’s efforts to establish Cedar Hill, the Douglass home, as a memorial to their father. In turn Helen tried to exhume his body from the family cemetery lot in Rochester, New York, and have it moved to Cedar Hill, with the condition that only she could be buried next to him. The marriage of Douglass and Helen forever strained Helen’s relationship with her father and uncle. Her mother and sisters reconciled themselves to the marriage and visited Cedar Hill often. After Douglass’s death, Helen continued her associations with the Mount Holyoke Alumnae Association of Washington, the Anthropological Society, and the National Association for the relief of Destitute Colored Women and Children. She delivered lectures on Egypt, the Hittites, and the southern convict lease system. Defects in Douglass’s will resulted in Cedar Hill being auctioned after his death, with Helen buying it back from the estate with a bank loan. Living frugally she preserved the home and devised it to the Frederick Douglass Memorial and Historical Association, incorporated by Congress in 1900 through Helen’s efforts. Her place of burial is the same family lot where Douglass and his first wife are buried, in Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester, New York. *New York Times*, 7 March 1895, 1 October 1898; 1870 U.S. Census, New York, Ontario County, 378; Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines*, 350-51; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 310-11, 319-20; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass*, 298; Julie R. Nelson, “The Best of Intentions: Anna Murray Douglass, Helen Pitts Douglass, and the Challenge of Social Equality,” *Proteus: A Journal of Ideas*, 12:39-42 (Spring 1995); Simpson, “Tribute to Helen Pitts Douglass,” 131-32; Francis J. Grimké, “The Second Marriage of Frederick Douglass,” *JNH*, 19:324-29 (July 1934).

this morning,³ with little wind and a remarkably Smooth Sea, less ruffled than I ever saw the sea before. I had thought to cross the ocean quietly and without being recognized by any body I ever saw before, but this notion was soon dispelled for I was soon approached by Rev Henry Wayland⁴ son of the late President Wayland⁵ and by Mr George Bllelock⁶ a

³Scheduled to leave at 6:30 A.M., the *City of Rome* left New York for Liverpool on Wednesday, 15 September 1886. *New York Times*, 13, 16 September 1886.

⁴Heman Lincoln Wayland (1830-98), inaccurately identified by both Douglasses in their diaries and by Douglass in other references, was a Baptist minister, having graduated from Brown University and Newton Theological Institute in Massachusetts. After tutoring at the University of Rochester in New York from 1852 to 1854, Wayland served a church in Massachusetts, as an army chaplain during the Civil War, and as a missionary to black people in Nashville, Tennessee. In 1865 he returned to the academic arena, teaching rhetoric and logic at Kalamazoo College in Michigan, and serving as president of Franklin College in Indiana from 1870 to 1872. His final career was in publishing, serving as editor of the *National Baptist* and authoring with his brother *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland*, 2 vols. (New York, 1867), and on his own writing *Charles H. Spurgeon: His Faith and Works* (Philadelphia, 1892). *New York Times*, 16 September 1886; Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 52, FD Papers, DLC; *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 5:265; Samuel Macauley Jackson, ed., *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 13 vols. (New York, 1912), 12:280; James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 7 vols. (1888; Detroit, 1968), 6:397; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 63 vols. (New York, 1906), 10:494.

⁵Born in New York City to recent emigrants from England, Francis Wayland (1796-1865) graduated from Union College, studied medicine in New York, and prepared for the ministry at Andover Theological Seminary. Completing his education, Wayland tutored at Union College from 1817 to 1821 and served First Baptist Church in Boston from 1821 to 1826. After teaching for one year at Union College, he became the president of Brown University, serving in that capacity from 1827 to 1855. Wayland reformed the traditional teaching process through the classroom lectures and textbooks he prepared, distinguishing him in the field of education. After leaving Brown Wayland served First Baptist Church in Providence for two years and spent the remainder of his life performing religious work and writing. Henry Warner Bowden, *Dictionary of American Religious Biography*, 2nd ed. (Westport, Conn., 1993), 585-86; Jackson, *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, 12:279-80; *NCAB*, 8:22.

⁶This individual's name appears eleven times in the Douglasses' diaries, twice in his and nine times in hers. In four of those instances, once in his and three times in hers, the spelling of the surname is corrected, sometimes more than once. When not corrected, Douglass writes the name as Breelock, and she writes it twice as Brelock and four times as Blelock. Other variations that have been changed appear to be Blylock, Beelock, and Bulock. Douglass indicates that the man's first name is George and that Douglass knew him forty years ago as a boy. Helen writes that he is of Scottish descent and is traveling with his daughter. Given the confusion concerning the surname and the lack of other information, the identity of this individual is uncertain, although one researcher identifies him without documentation or explanation as George Bulloch. One candidate,

gentleman I knew nearly forty years ago as a Boy. Both Gentlemen greeted Helen and myself cordially and expressed pleasure at having us for fellow passengers. At breakfast we found ourselves opposite to Mr and Mrs Chandler.⁷ Mr Chandler had heard me speak

however, who at least matches the description, is George H. Blaloch (1836-?), a manager of a needle factory in Springfield, Massachusetts. Born in New York, Blaloch would have been a ten year-old boy in 1846, making him the appropriate age. Moreover, his father was from Scotland, and Blaloch had a daughter, Jean, who was twelve at the time. Nonetheless, no conclusive link exists between George H. Blaloch and Douglass. Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frames 1-2, Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frames 52, 54, 63-66, 69, FD Papers, DLC; 1880 U.S. Census, Massachusetts, Hampden County, 26; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 325.

⁷George W. Chandler (1841-?) of New York was a Methodist minister who was not under appointment at the time. Married to Izora (1848-?) and the father of George F. (1873-?), Chandler began his ministerial career in the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which covered northeastern Pennsylvania and western New York. He served the Methodist Episcopal churches at Towanda, Pennsylvania, from 1874 to 1876, and at Corning, New York, in 1877. From 1878 to 1880 Chandler served Delaware Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church in Buffalo, New York. He served Niagara Street Methodist Episcopal Church, which changed its name to First Methodist Episcopal Church, in Lockport, New York, from 1881 to 1883. In 1884 Chandler transferred to the Oregon Conference, serving Taylor Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Portland from 1884 to 1885. When the Chandlers returned to the United States in 1887, he transferred to the Central New York Conference, serving First Methodist Episcopal Church in Ithaca until 1889 when he left the ministry. *New York Times*, 12 September 1886; 1880 U.S. Census, New York, Erie County, 116; Methodist Episcopal Church, Genesee Conference, *Minutes, Statistics, etc. of Genesee Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Sixty-fourth Session* (Rochester, N.Y., 1877), 22; idem, *Minutes, Statistics, etc. of Genesee Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Sixty-fifth Session* (Geneva, N.Y., 1878), n.p.; idem, *Official Journal and Minutes of the Sixty-eighth Session of the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Rochester, N.Y., 1881), 65; idem, *Official Journal and Minutes of the Seventy-fourth Session of the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1883), 24; Methodist Episcopal Church, Oregon Conference, *Minutes of the Thirty-second Session of the Oregon Annual Conference* (Portland, Ore., 1884), 33; Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Fall Conferences of 1886* (New York, 1886), 238, 300; Methodist Episcopal Church, Central New York Conference, *Twentieth Session, Central New York Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church* (Elmira, N.Y., 1887), 58; idem, *Twenty-third Annual Session of the Central New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1890), 91; idem, *Twenty-fifth Annual Session of the Central New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1892), 93; Philip P. Bliss, *Memoirs of Philip P. Bliss*, ed. D.W. Whittle (New York, 1877), 323.

on the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln in Rochester and had not forgotten the impression.⁸ Our voyage will thus evidently not be one of solitude.

Several letters came on board and were handed to me after our voyage began and we were well on our way to the gates of the Sea, and unfortunately the Pilot left the Ship too Soon to permit of sending a word of answer or a word of fare well to many dear friends to whom it would have been a pleasure to have sent such a word. We have now been on this noble Ship about 8 hours, and no sign of the dreaded trouble of Sea sickness. Had two or three short talks with Mr Bree-lock and Mr Wayland. The latter is a remarkable clever talker, and is a man very free from pretenses but I fear is a little biased in his politics by Mugwumpism.⁹ I like him. We have but few passengers and of them there is a large springling of ladies, most of the latter thus far have spent their time on deck in Steamer chairs with Books peacefully closed on their laps, more as ornaments than for use, while the men walk the deck and smoke, smoke and smoke, looking as solemn as if they were on the way to a funeral. We have not been on this Steamer as I have said more than 8 hours, but have already had two fare meals, and have the promise of two more before the day closes. I have not yet found out who the Captain, but like a true Yankee our Helen has made

⁸Douglass delivered an impromptu speech on 15 April 1865 in Rochester, New York, at the City Hall in tribute to President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), who had died that morning from wounds inflicted by John Wilkes Booth. *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 4:74.

⁹A mugwump is someone who deserted the Republican party in the presidential election of 1884. Some Republicans questioned the honesty and business integrity of the Republican nominee, James G. Blaine, who had profited financially from granting valuable rights to a railroad company. Many of these reform-minded Republicans liked the honesty of the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, and supported him, despite the revelation that he had fathered a child out of wedlock. Cleveland won, becoming the first Democrat to be elected president since the Civil War. Stemming from the Massachusetts word for kingpin, the term mugwump also denotes an independent in politics. H. Paul Jeffers, *An Honest President: The Life and Presidencies of Grover Cleveland* (New York, 2000), 57-58, 96-97; Mark Wahlgren Summers, *Rum, Romanism and Rebellion: The Making of a President, 1884* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 22-24, 179-82.

the acquaintance of the pilot and has seen the Captain Monroe.¹⁰ Everything between officers and men seems to go on very smoothly. Commands are calmly given and promptly obeyed. In the cabin where we are now are, a young man is persistently boring our ears by playing on an organ that stands at one end of the dining saloon. The passengers towards each other exhibit the usual reserve at this the beginning of the voyage, with air of indifference about the presence of each other. They will share more interest as the days roll on and half of them shall feel the the grip of Sea sickness.

The City of Rome is said to be the largest except the Great eastern¹¹ in the world. She behaves beautifully in pleasant weather, but it remains for us to see whether she will gain this credit in a storm.

[Thursday,] 16 September [1886]

A strong head wind—seven sail in sight during the day. Pleasant greeting by Captain Monroe Mr and Mrs Chandler. They the latter had seen and heard me before meeting me here. The English passengers all agreeable and mind their business and not disturbed by our presence. My friend Dr Henry Wayland urges me to address the

¹⁰R.D. Munro was the captain of the *City of Rome*, a post he had held for several years. *New York Times*, 13 May 1884, 10, 23 September 1886; American Shipmasters' Association, *1886 Record of American and Foreign Shipping*, New York (New York, 1886), 272.

¹¹Designed by engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel to be the largest vessel ever constructed, the *Great Eastern*, built by the Eastern Steam Navigation Company, was over five times larger than any other ship built at the time. Constructed on the banks of the Thames at Millwall from 1854 to 1857, the ship took three months to launch at more than eight times the estimated cost. The *Great Eastern's* tonnage was 18,915 and her length 680 feet, or 10,771 tons and 120 feet more than the *City of Rome*. Although she could accommodate four thousand passengers, the *Great Eastern* was never a commercial success as either a passenger or cargo vessel because of her slow speed, and she made few transatlantic voyages for these purposes. *The Great Eastern Steam Ship: A Description of Mr. Scott Russell's Great Ship, Now Building at Millwall, for the Eastern Steam Navigation Company* (London, n.d.), 3-5, 13; Spratt, *Transatlantic Steam Navigation*, 30-31; Benstead, *Atlantic Ferry*, 100-105.

passengers. I decline for the present but may do so by and bye. We are four hundred and 19 miles from Sandy brook¹² at noon to day. The day has been without marked interest.

[Friday,] 17 September [1886]

The morning opens beautifully on a smooth sea, and a favorable wind, only one sail in sight at nine o'clock am. Our good ship glides along at the rate of 16 knots.

Thus far both Helen and I have shown ourselves good sailors, neither of us have had to dispense with a meal, but go promptly down at the sound of the gong.

[Saturday,] 18 September [1886]

The first sensation a solitary whale spotted on our starboard bow, and caused a rush of passengers to see him or her. In the Evening after dinner my friend Mr Henry Wayland brought me prominently to the attention of my fellow passengers by taking a vote of the passengers inviting to deliver an address. I had hoped to escape this infliction, but it easier in such cases to comply than to refuse so I am booked for an address on Monday.

[Sunday,] 19 September [1886]

This is Sunday, and one of our fire men¹³ is dead and is to be buried in the sea to day. Association, prejudice make more solemn to be buried in the sea than on land, but nothing else.

Monday, 20 September [1886]

Have just been on deck and enjoyed the contrast between the rough cloudy rainy weather of yes. with calm and tranquil outlook on the sea this morning. We have past

¹²Sandy Hook is a five-mile peninsula in New Jersey that protects the southern portion of Lower New York Bay, known as Sandy Hook Bay, from the Atlantic Ocean. Saul B. Cohen, ed., *Columbia Gazetteer of the World*, 3 vols. (New York, 1998), 3:2782.

¹³A fireman is one who stokes the fire in the furnace of a steam engine.

through or by a large school of porphose, some of them apparently playing with our powerful ship by diving under its bow, as if she were a fish like themselves. Since coming on board of the City of Rome I have been reading English Traits by Emerson¹⁴ and have been glad to find my own views of the civilization of England supported by one so thoughtful and able as the sage of Concord.¹⁵ I am to speak to such of the passengers as may be disposed or pleased to hear me this Evening if the good weather holds, and I am dreading it. The arrangement to do so, was entirely unsought and even regretted by me. Yet I have found it impossible to say no to an invitation so polite and pressing. I hardly know what I shall manage to say to such an audience, but something I must say when once on my legs.

Tuesday, 21 September [1886]

The sea rough but the City of Rome wonderfully firm and steady, dashing the heavy billows from her prow in a manner to commend her to all who go down to the sea in ships and do business on the deep. I never felt in any vessel such a perfect sense of safety on the sea. Everybody seems cheerful in the prospect of a speedy termination of the voyage, notwithstanding the resistance of a heavy head wind and rolling billows, some of the latter

¹⁴Born in Boston and the son of a Unitarian minister, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) graduated from Harvard, studied divinity, and briefly served a Unitarian church in Boston. Poor health and the death of his wife required Emerson to travel to Europe where he met Thomas Carlyle, establishing a life-long friendship that included Emerson acting as Carlyle's agent for the books Carlyle published in America. A noted lecturer and author, Emerson and other dissenting, Harvard-educated Unitarian ministers founded transcendentalism, a school of thought emphasizing the spiritual rather than the empirical. After a second trip to Europe in 1847, Emerson wrote *English Traits*, a work critically acclaimed and widely respected. *ACAB*, 2:343-48; *NCAB*, 3:416-18; John A. Garraty and Mark C. Barnes, *American National Biography*, 24 vols. (New York, 1999), 7:487-92.

¹⁵In addition to the "American Carlyle," the "Sage of Concord" is a nickname for Ralph Waldo Emerson, who lived in Concord, Massachusetts. Carl Sifakis, *The Dictionary of Historic Nicknames* (New York, 1984), 144.

frequently sending their spray over the forward deck driving passengers from that part of the ship. We have on board a curious and somewhat entertaining old Sea Captain from New Hampshire¹⁶ who has been all round the world and is now bound to Calcutta¹⁷ who may well be called the “ancient mariner.”¹⁸ It seems to be his amusement to show good naturedly how much he knows and other conceited folk how little they know. Something of a bore and yet I like him. He likes a good listener and finds in Helen and myself an audience that suits him well. We are all eyes and ears and no tongues. We hear his stories and observe his impressive gestures with appropriate admiration and wonder, and he perceiving is greatly encouraged to go on with his narratives, which though prolix are not dull.

¹⁶The only other known captain on board the *City of Rome* at the time, other than the captain of the steamship, is Captain Gerald F. Talbot, who was a passenger. There is no record to demonstrate any connection between Talbot and New Hampshire, as both Douglasses state, or to connect him to the military incidents or maritime mishap related in Helen Pitts Douglass’s diary. *New York Times*, 16 September 1886; Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frames 62-63, 72, FD Papers, DLC.

¹⁷Located in eastern India on the Hugli River, Calcutta was the capital of India until 1912, its chief port, and the second city of the British Empire after London. Ships departed at regular intervals from Liverpool for India. Karl Baedeker, *Great Britain: England, Wales, and Scotland, As Far As Loch Maree and the Cromarty Firth, Handbook for Travellers* (London, 1887), 332; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:499.

¹⁸The title character of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, a poem by Samuel Taylor Coleridge first published in 1798, is an elderly seaman who had brought misfortune to the crew of his ship by killing an albatross, a bird considered to be a good omen. As the ship lay unmoving at the equator due to lack of wind, the crew hung the albatross around the ancient mariner’s neck as a sign of his transgression. After the rest of the crew has died, the ancient mariner survives to atone for his sin. One evening he blessed the water snakes encircling the ship, breaking the spell. The albatross fell from his neck, and the ship, with the help of the dead sailors’ spirits, brought the ancient mariner to his home port, where he must tell his tale repeatedly to teach love and reverence for all of God’s creatures. Frank N. Magill, ed., *Masterpieces of World Literature in Digest Form* (New York, 1952), 825-26.

Wednesday, 22 September [1886]

At two o'clk, or there about the mountain coast of dear old Ireland, to the delight of the expectant passengers myself included came into view. Pleasant as our voyage had been, much as we admired the ship, short as had been our voyage, we were all delighted at the prospect of standing upon the solid old earth. In four or five hours after discrying land we were safely in the capacious Harbour of Queenstown.¹⁹ In one hour after our landing here we were off again to the Irish Sea for Liverpool.²⁰ In that hour we had landed our mail. Many of our passengers received London papers²¹ and some of us received letters from our friends. I received one from a Mr. Rawlins of Wrexham Wales introducing me to his son in Liverpool.²²

¹⁹Queenstown was the name of a seaport in southeastern Cork County, Ireland. Originally named Cove of Cork, the name changed to Queenstown when Queen Victoria visited it in 1849. It became Cobh in 1922. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:683.

²⁰Located in northwestern England on the Mersey River, Liverpool was the second largest city in England at the time and its principal port. Chartered by King John in 1207, Liverpool grew slowly until it developed its waterway into a shipping center at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Having the dubious distinction of slave trade as its most lucrative shipping occupation, Liverpool shifted in the nineteenth century to export manufactured goods. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 332-33; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1758.

²¹London had several daily and weekly newspapers at the time, including the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Post*, the *Times*, the *Standard*, the *News of the World*, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Daily Chronicle*. Tony Gray, *Fleet Street Remembered* (London, 1990), 311-12.

²²Only two households with the surname Rawlins were related at the time to Wrexham, located in northeastern Wales. One was Frank L. Rawlins (1844-?), who lived at Rhosddu in Wrexham in 1886. As of 1881, however, he had not married, making it unlikely that he would have an adult son living in Liverpool at the time. The other, John H. Rawlins (1817-?), lived with his family in Cefn-y-Bedd, just outside Wrexham. Born in Liverpool, John was a paper manufacturer who had lived near Wrexham for more than thirty years. Arnold V. Rawlins (1857-?), born in Cefn-y-Bedd and living in Liverpool, was a bookkeeper in the paper trade and most likely John's son. The younger Rawlins visited the Douglasses in Liverpool on Tuesday, 28 September 1886. No record remains of the letter that Douglass received from the elder Rawlins. 1881 British Census, Denbigh County, 7, Flint County, 7, Lancashire County, 39; Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 78, FD Papers, DLC; Alfred Neobard Palmer, *The History of the Parish*

[Thursday,] 23 September [1886]

Arrived at Liverpool. Everything about the Docks much the same as forty years ago²³ except forty years older and by reason of smoke darker, but no sign of decay any where, all strong and solid about the Docks, and the people full of life and activity. In the Evening Helen walked out into the street to see and hear the new sights and sounds of the strange city and were deeply interested in the general movement of the immense throng of carriages, omnibuses, carts carriages and people that passed in front of St. Georges Hall²⁴ an imposing structure. The throng seemed made up of working people. They walked as if hurried along by an irresistible pressure. Boys girls men and women, some in plain clothing and some in scarcely any clothing at all bare footed and bareheaded all hurrying

Church of Wrexham: Being the Second Part of "A History of the Town and Parish of Wrexham" (Wrexham, Wales, 1886), list of subscribers, iii; John George Bartholomew, *Gazetteer of the British Isles*, 9th ed., (Edinburgh, Scot., 1966), 138; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3492.

²³As one of the principal attractions of Liverpool, the docks lined the Mersey River for about six or seven miles and numbered over fifty. Building the first enclosed, commercial, maritime dock in 1710, Liverpool had three docks by the end of the eighteenth century when no other port had more than one dock. Increased trade and ship size due to the introduction of steam power and of iron and steel in shipbuilding required the modification of the existing docks and the addition of more docks in the nineteenth century. At the time, the largest dock was the Alexandra Dock, covering forty-four acres of water, and the newest was the Hornby Dock, opened in 1885. Part of the success of Liverpool's docks was their close proximity to the town and the railway network from Liverpool to other major cities in Great Britain. In the twentieth century Liverpool docks declined in use due to the shift in trade from North America to Europe and to the advent of container ships, which the docks could not accommodate. Douglass saw the docks of Liverpool when he traveled there on his first trip abroad in 1845. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 332, 337-38; Nancy Ritchie-Noakes, *Liverpool's Historic Waterfront: The World's First Mercantile Dock System* (London, 1984), 3-8; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 120; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1758.

²⁴Built from 1838 to 1854 in the heart of Liverpool immediately opposite Lime Street Station, St. George's Hall has a large central unit flanked by two wings, designed to resemble a Greek or Roman temple. Corinthian columns span the east side and the south portico. Pilasters and windows adorn the west façade, and the north end is semicircular. The building housed courtrooms and halls for public meetings and concerts at the time. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 333-34; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1758.

along together in motly procession. Once in a while a family begging, a woman with a babe in arms and two or three small children at her skirts, she singing in mournful heart broken and heart breaking strains. Yet upon the whole the crowd is cheerful, many voices and loud laughter occasionally rise from the multitude. One sees in this moving mass the immense energy there is in this English nation. I was however struck by the number of short men and women among these working people. They afford few of what is called the typical Englishman.

[Saturday,] 24 September [1886]²⁵

Attended the international Exhibition.²⁶ Much interested, especially in the display of fine models of Naval architecture and many other mechanical branches, though the display in no sense equals our Centennial Exposition.²⁷

²⁵Saturday, 25 September 1886. Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 75, FD Papers, DLC.

²⁶Opened by Queen Victoria on 11 May 1886, the Liverpool International Exhibition of Navigation, Traveling, Commerce and Manufacture illustrated different modes of travel by land, sea, and air. To demonstrate the gradual development of land travel, the exhibit included a packhorse, stage wagon, Japanese rickshaw, and early and modern locomotives. For sea travel, the display contained Viking ships and early and modern steamships, as well as a model lighthouse. Air travel included a hot air balloon and a flying machine exhibited every hour. The exhibition also included representations of the manufacture and commerce of the world, a model of an Ashantee palace, as found in the Gold Coast of Africa, and an Indian pavilion with a performance and a procession of animals. *New York Times*, 29 October 1885, 12, 16 May 1886.

²⁷Costing more than eleven million dollars and covering more than 450 acres of Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876 celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Douglass attended the opening of the exposition on 10 May 1876. Over the next six months almost ten million people viewed the thirty thousand exhibits. One of these exhibits was a bust of Douglass by sculptor J.M. Mundy. The spotlight of the exhibition was the Machinery Hall, which contained a fourteen-acre array of machines, including the largest steam engine in the world. James D. McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition Held in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence* (1876; Philadelphia, 1975), 157-62, 291-92; Robert C. Post, ed., *A Treatise upon Selected Aspects of the Great International Exhibition Held in Philadelphia on the Occasion of Our Nation's One-hundredth Birthday, with Some Reference to Another Exhibition Held in Washington Commemorating That Epic Event, and Called 1876: A Centennial Exhibition* (Washington, D.C.,

Sunday, 25 [September 1886]²⁸

[A] quiet stroll over the city, when we saw Liverpool in its Sunday cloths and in its Sunday stillness and repose. It was a hush almost complete, more perfect than even a Washington Sunday. There was a bove us a struggle of sun shine and shadow, but the blue sky had the advantage. In the Evening we attended worship at Pembroke Chapel.²⁹ A fair sermon³⁰ and good hearty singing by a choir of boys led by a man.

[Friday,] 1 October [1886]

We have now spent a week in Liverpool, have visited the Art Galleries,³¹ the Free

1976), 8-15; Dee Brown, *The Year of the Century: 1876* (New York, 1966), 120; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 288.

²⁸Sunday, 26 September 1886.

²⁹Established in 1838 due to a dispute over open communion, Pembroke Chapel was a Baptist church embracing a liberal theology. Its church building, with its elaborate organ, and its formal worship services attracted wealthier constituents and set Pembroke Chapel apart from other Baptist churches in Liverpool. The 1880s were a period marked by petty quarrels among church members and internal dissension over minor issues. The church experienced a rejuvenation beginning in the 1890s as a radical church, espousing pacifism, socialism, labor rights, and agnosticism. In 1924 the Baptist Union intervened to rein in the congregation to its denominational heritage and closed the church in 1931. Ian Sellers, *A Salute to Pembroke: The Story of the Rise, Progress, Decline and Fall of a Most Remarkable Dissenting Congregation* (n.p., [1960]), 4-5, 12-29, 37-40.

³⁰From 1880 to 1887 the church was under the leadership of Reverend Richard Richards. Sellers, *Salute to Pembroke*, 12-29.

³¹The Douglasses visited the Walker Art Gallery to view the permanent exhibition on Monday, 27 September 1886. In 1877 Andrew Barclay Walker, namesake of the building, gave twenty thousand pounds for the building. Considered the finest art gallery in England outside London, the Walker Art Gallery houses European paintings and sculptures from the fourteenth century through the twentieth century. Located to the north of St. George's Hall on William Brown Street next to the Picton Reading Room, Walker Art Gallery contained 360 works in 1885 in its permanent collection, including an excellent collection of Italian and Flemish paintings. Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 77, FD Papers, DLC; Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 334; National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, *The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool* (London, 1994), 8-13; Kenneth Hudson and Ann Nicholls, *The Cambridge Guide to the Museums of Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 1987), 223.

Library³² and the Autumn Exhibition of new paintings.³³ In the gallery there are two powerful pictures one description of a struggle for life between wolves and the other of a slavehunt by Blood hounds in America. We have also visited that wonder of Naval architecture the Great Eastern, now used as a show and a low class of Theatricals.³⁴ Helen has a history of the great ship up to this date. Two days ago we visited the famous old Town of Chester full of historic interest, reaching back to the Roman invasion.³⁵ A part of the old Roman wall still remains to bear witness to the marvelous power of that people.³⁶ The

³²Located on William Brown Street, the Liverpool Free Public Museum and William Brown Library opened in 1860. Built as a library with a collection of eighty thousand volumes, the building also houses the natural history collection of eight thousand stuffed specimens bequeathed to the city by the earl of Derby in 1851. William Brown, a Member of Parliament and the building's namesake, paid for its erection after the proposal to build it drew criticism. The Douglasses visited the library and museum the previous day, Thursday, 30 September 1886. Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 80, FD Papers, DLC; Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 334; Peter Cowell, *Liverpool Public Libraries: A History of Fifty Years* (Liverpool, Eng., 1903), 29, 38, 70.

³³Since 1871 the Liverpool Town Council had sponsored an Autumn Exhibition, featuring paintings by living artists for sale. The council used its share of the profit from the exhibition to purchase additional works to enhance the collection of the museum. The Douglasses attended the Autumn Exhibition on Thursday, 30 September 1886. Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 80, FD Papers, DLC; Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 334; National Museums, *Walker Art Gallery*, 9-11.

³⁴The *Great Eastern* became a floating billboard that bore advertisements. She then lay derelict for a period until 1885 when she became a showboat featuring theatrical productions, until broken up in 1888 for scrap metal. The Douglasses visited the *Great Eastern* on Tuesday, 28 September 1886. Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 78, FD Papers, DLC; Benstead, *Atlantic Ferry*, 109; Pratt, *Transatlantic Steam Navigation*, 31.

³⁵On Wednesday, 29 September 1886, the Douglasses traveled to Chester, forty-two miles southeast of Liverpool and the capital of Cheshire. Known for its medieval features, Chester was the headquarters of the Twentieth Roman Legion for four centuries, beginning about 40 A.D. The numerous Roman artifacts recovered from the area bear witness to its history as a Roman encampment. Helen Pitts Douglass Diary, Family Papers File, reel 1, frame 79, FD Papers, DLC; Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 271-72; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:621.

³⁶The oldest part of Chester, surrounded by red sandstone walls, dates from the fourteenth century, and not the Roman period as Douglass states. Three of the four walls do, however, follow the line of the Roman walls, while the south wall has been moved. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 272; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:621.

Cathedral in this place is one of the finest in England, and we spent several hours in viewing its pulpits alters tablets, its carvings, pictures and its imposing architecture.³⁷ Religion built no such Temples in our day. The pride of rival sects does pretty fair work in this line, but it cannot equal these structures of the past. The imagination is nowhere addressed so powerfully as in all the appointments of these old structures. It is noticed that the Church of England is fast returning to Romanism.³⁸ A catholic priest was asked if he did not feel resentment at the fact that this grand old Cathedral had gone into hands of the the Church of England?³⁹ He said no they are coming back to us as fast as they can, and this impression is becoming quite general.

³⁷Located near the center of Chester, the Cathedral is 355 feet long and 127 feet high. Containing several styles of architecture, from Norman to late Gothic, the façade is red sandstone. The north wall of the nave, the north transept, and the crypt on the side of the west cloister are the oldest parts of the church, dating as far back as 1101. Made from olive, oak, and cedar wood from Palestine, the altar portrays the history of the passion with carvings of various plants associated with it. The pulpit is a modern addition. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 274-76; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:621.

³⁸In the nineteenth century the Church of England experienced a growing schism between high-church tradition, revived by the Oxford Movement of the 1830s, and the evangelical movement. Led by John Henry Newman, the Oxford Movement stressed historic ties of the Anglicanism to the Roman Catholic Church, including an emphasis on ritual and ceremony in worship, the sacraments, and the authority of the clergy. In contrast the evangelicals placed less importance on sacraments and ceremony and stressed the importance of biblical study as the foundation of faith. Paula Schaefer, *The Catholic Regeneration of the Church of England*, trans. Ethel Talbot Scheffauer (London, 1935), 59-63, 82, 84-87; John Shelton Reed, *Glorious Battle: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism* (Nashville, Tenn., 1996), 8-12, 14-16, 113, 142-47.

³⁹As a part of the English Reformation, Parliament began passing laws in 1534 that transferred possession of land belonging to the Catholic Church to the crown. Henry VIII sold much of this property to nobles and gentry, who then gained a stake in the success of the Reformation. Henry used the proceeds to pay for his continued wars in Europe. Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation* (Oxford, 2002), 70-74; Arthur Geoffrey Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd ed. (London, 1989), 181-86.

To day we are making ready to go to St. Neots⁴⁰ to spend a few days there before going to London.⁴¹ We leave Liverpool without regret, and yet we have seen much that has interested us.

Wednesday, 20 October 1886

Arrived in Paris,⁴² and rode to the Hotel Britanique, Avenue Victoria,⁴³ Premaere Aroudessmont.⁴⁴

⁴⁰Located on the Ouse River eight miles southwest of Huntingdon, Saint Neots began as a small market town founded in the twelfth century. Named for a reputed brother or relative of King Alfred, Saint Neots is the site of a church built in the fourteenth century. It was also the home of Douglass's long-time friend, Julia Griffiths Crofts. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 370; Michael Wickes, *A History of Huntingdonshire* (Chichester, Eng., 1985), 41, 45; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 182; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2700.

⁴¹Beginning as a first century Roman fort, London gained importance in 886 when King Alfred gained control over it and established its first government. It became England's capital by the fourteenth century and the country's cultural center in the Renaissance. A fire in 1666 that lasted five days essentially destroyed London, allowing Sir Christopher Wren to play a major role in rebuilding the city. With the nineteenth century London experienced remarkable growth, ending the century six times larger than it was at the beginning. During the Victorian era London became the primary city of the British Empire, and its financial, cultural, and intellectual center. Karl Baedeker, *London and Its Environs, Including Excursions to Brighton, the Isle of Wight, Etc.*, 5th ed. (London, 1885), 58-62; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1772.

⁴²Firmly established as the capital of France by 987, Paris experienced its first significant growth from 1180 to 1223, under the reign of Philip Augustus, with the completion of such structures as the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Paris again flourished during the Renaissance, becoming the political, intellectual, and cultural center of France and later one of the most important cities in the world. Beginning in 1789 Paris was the center of the French Revolution, culminating with the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte from 1804 to 1815, who initiated an enormous building project, including the Arc de Triomphe, the Vendôme column, and the Rue de Rivoli. After a period of royal reign, Napoleon III established the Second Empire in 1852, becoming emperor and ruling until 1870 when the Republic replaced it. Great progress occurred during the Second Empire, including public projects from supplying the city with running water to the creation of parks. Karl Baedeker, *Paris and Environs, with Routes from London to Paris; Handbook for Travellers*, 9th ed. (London, 1888), xii-xiv; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2367.

⁴³Located at 20 Avenue Victoria, the Hôtel Britannique was near the Hôtel de Ville, or town hall, on the Right Bank of the Seine. Baedeker, *Paris*, 8, 62.

⁴⁴An arrondissement is a subdivision of the administrative departments of France, of which Paris was in the first, or premiere.

[Thursday,] 6 January 1887

Dejun⁴⁵

We are now in the old City of Dejun. The number of the Inhabitants, 53 thousand.⁴⁶

Met two persons at table a lady and Gentleman who early opened pleasant conversation with us. A little fromage⁴⁷ caused the opening. I happened to say to Helen I would like the cheese and being over heard it was instantly handed me and from that we were on sea and talking about the wondrous in improvements in steam navigation, agreeing in every thing and differing in nothing.

Friday, 7 January [1887]

Arrived in Lyon.⁴⁸ The weather was dark and rainy. We first called at the Hotel Univers but not being pleased we moved off bag and baggage to the Hotel le Bordeaux and found here excellent accomtion[.]⁴⁹ We spent here Saturday, and Sunday, 8th & 9th Jan. On Saturday morning we proceeded first of all to the American Consolate, for the purpose of ascertaining the cemetary in which Henry Wagoner, formerly connected with the

⁴⁵Famous for its wine production, Dijon is the former capital of Burgundy where the dukes of Burgundy lived until the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. Karl Baedeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers; First Part, Northern Italy, Including Leghorn, Florence, Ravenna, the Island of Corsica, and Routes through France, Switzerland and Austria*, 7th ed. (Leipsic, Ger., 1886), 3-4; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:834.

⁴⁶According to one guidebook, Dijon had a population of 55,400 in 1886. Douglass was probably using an older guidebook. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 3.

⁴⁷Cheese, in French.

⁴⁸As the second largest metropolitan center in France, Lyon, traditionally spelled Lyons in English, was the largest manufacturing center in France at the time, and silk was its most important staple commodity. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 4-5; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1814-15.

⁴⁹The Grand Hôtel de l'Univers was on the Cour du Midi, a park with trees, at numbers twenty-seven and twenty-nine. The Grand Hôtel de Bordeaux et du Parc was near the main railway station, Gare de Perrache, a few blocks away. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 4-5.

consulate was interred.⁵⁰ Was received at first by Mr. Bryan the consul⁵¹ rather coolly, but after a while his manner changed and became warmer, and he allowed us to see his Books but we gained but little from them. In fact we only learned that Mr Wagoner's salary ceased in 1878. The consul told us that we might out what we wanted by going to the Hospital Dieu where he supposed Mr Wagoner was treated till he died.⁵² We went there

⁵⁰Born a free black man in Hagerstown, Maryland, Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., (1816-?) worked on several farms in western Maryland, fleeing to Ohio in 1838 out of fear that his underground railroad activity had placed him in jeopardy. As he was leaving Baltimore, Wagoner met Douglass, who was in the process of escaping from slavery. In 1839 Wagoner arrived in Galena, Illinois, where he worked as a typesetter and bill collector for a newspaper. From 1843 to 1846 Wagoner taught school children and worked for a newspaper in Chatham, Canada West. His next domicile was in Chicago where he ran a milling business. After acting as an army recruiter during the Civil War, Wagoner settled in Denver, Colorado. Douglass sent two of his sons, Lewis and Frederick, to Denver to learn typesetting from Wagoner. In return Douglass used his influence to secure a job for Wagoner's son, Henry O. Wagoner, Jr., in the United States consulate in Paris, France, in 1873, and the younger Wagoner later transferred to the consulate at Lyons. When the head position of the Lyons consulate became vacant in 1877, the younger Wagoner, who had attended Howard Law School, again sought the aid of Douglass in being promoted to that position. The younger Wagoner died in 1878 in Lyons, and his father asked Douglass to visit the grave after learning of Douglass's trip to Europe. Receiving from Wagoner a map of the location of the younger Wagoner's grave, the Douglasses inadvertently left the map in Paris and did not remember Wagoner's earlier statement that the grave was in the Cemetery of the Red Cross. An active Republican, Wagoner received an appointment as one of the clerks for the state legislature in 1876 and as the first black deputy sheriff of Arapaho County, Colorado, in 1880. Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 27 August 1866, 10 December 1873, 23 March 1878, 13 July, 13 October 1885, 19 August 1886, 1 September 1890, 17 August 1893, Henry O. Wagoner, Jr., to Douglass, 2 April 1874, 12 May 1877, and Douglass to Lewis Douglass, 24 January 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frames 197-98, 700-703, 733-36, reel 3, frames 122-26, 241-43, reel 4, frames 193, 217-19, 380-81, 450-51, reel 5, frames 783-84, reel 32, frames 250-51, FD Papers, DLC; U.S. Department of State, *Register of the Department of State, Corrected to October 10, 1874* (Washington, D.C., 1874), 19; idem, *Register of the Department of State, Corrected to December, 1877* (Washington, D.C., 1877), 17; William Loren Katz, *Black People Who Made the Old West* (New York, 1977), 102-06; William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive and Rising* (Chicago, 1970), 469-72.

⁵¹Appointed 18 June 1886, Edward H. Bryan was the American consul in Lyons, serving until 1888. Born in Missouri, Bryan was from California at the time of his appointment. U.S. Department of State, *Register of the Department of State, Corrected to December 21, 1887* (Washington, D.C., 1888), 17; idem, *Register of the Department of State, Corrected to December 1, 1888* (Washington, D.C., 1889), 17.

⁵²Situated on the banks of the Rhône River, the Hôtel Dieu dates back to the twelfth century. Long considered a model for other hospitals in France and Europe, the Hôtel Dieu has a dome that

and spent a long time in searching but found nothing to show that Mr W had been in that Hospital. These enquiries occupied Saturday the 8th.

Sunday, 9 [January 1887]

[W]e went[.]

Took a carriage and drove to the country in search of cemeteries, supposing we should find from the Books where our friend was laid. We were taken by a mistake to the Hebrew cemetairie,⁵³ and did not stop long. We supposed he could not be laid in a Catholic ground,⁵⁴ and hence enquired for a Protestant cemetaire and Drove off to one in wh. both Catholics and Prots were buried,⁵⁵ but after diligent search here, no trace of his grave was found, the Books did not show that he was interred here at all. Then we betook ourselves to the other side of Lyons. We had been on the East side of the Rhone, and now we betook ourselves to west side of the Soane, the two rivers are on either side of the city.⁵⁶ Our luck

is a landmark in Lyons. In any event Wagoner was not a patient at the Hôtel Dieu. He was at L'Hopital de la Croix Rousse, being treated for a respiratory infection, when he died. Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 23 March 1878, General Correspondence File, reel 3, frames 241-43, FD Papers, DLC; Lyon Commission des Archives des Hospices Civils, *Histoire du Grand Hotel-Dieu de Lyon, des Origines a l'Année 1900* (Lyons, France, 1924), 200-212; Etienne Dagier, *Histoire Chronologique de l'Hopital Général et Grand Hotel-Dieu de Lyon*, 2 vols. (Lyons, France, 1830), 1:12-16, 2:268-83.

⁵³On the east side of the Rhône River in Lyons is the Nouveau Cimetière Israelite. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, Plan of Lyon, E, 8.

⁵⁴The canon law of the Catholic Church requires that Catholic cemeteries be blessed, and that those who are not Catholic cannot be buried in consecrated, or blessed, ground. Where the graves of Protestants and Catholics are in the same cemetery and the Protestants outnumber the Catholics, the church requires the blessing of individual Catholic graves. Catholic University of America, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 18 vols. (San Francisco, 1967), 3:386-87.

⁵⁵On the east side of the Rhône River in Lyons is the Nouveau Cimetière de la Guillotière. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, Plan of Lyon, G, 8.

⁵⁶The Rhône and the Saône rivers run through and converge at Lyons. France's largest river in terms of volume, the 505-mile Rhône begins in Switzerland and empties into the

was no better on the one side than on the other. But from the heights of on the west side, had the weather favored us, which it did not we should have an extensive view of the country about Lyons, and some say we might have seen the Alps.⁵⁷

Monday, 10 January [1887]

Came to Avignon.⁵⁸ Took lodgings at Hotel Du Luxemborg and was made very comfortable.⁵⁹ Avignon is one of the oldest, quaintest, crookedest, and queerest places I ever visited. It is a walled city and the walls are in excellent condition.⁶⁰ It was once the city of the Popes, the there is here an old Palace of the Popes,⁶¹ and a church connected

Mediterranean Sea south of Arles in France. The Saône, one of the principal tributaries of the Rhône, is 268 miles long and runs through Paris to Lyons. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 5; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2602, 2817.

⁵⁷On the west side of the Saône River is the Cimetière de Loyasse and the adjacent Nouveau Cimetière. Next to these cemeteries is the Height of Fourvière, noted for its commanding view. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 5, Plan of Lyon, A, 4.

⁵⁸Situated on the banks of the Rhône, Avignon, and not Rome, was the site of the papacy during what the Italians call the Babylonian Captivity (1309-77) and the domicile of several antipopes from 1378 to 1409. Avignon remained under papal control until France annexed it in 1791. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 9; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:205.

⁵⁹Located three-fourths of a mile from the train station, the Hôtel du Luxembourg was on the Rue du Chapeau-Rouge. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 9.

⁶⁰Begun during the reign of Clement VI from 1342 to 1352, the walls of Avignon are thirteen feet thick and one hundred feet tall. Innocent VI completed the walls in 1360, raising the necessary revenue by imposing various taxes. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 10; Thomas Okey, *The Story of Avignon* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1971), 157-58.

⁶¹Completed mostly during the reign of Benedict XII from 1334 to 1342, the Papal Palace consists of chapels, living and dining quarters, libraries, reception halls, courts, and towers. Construction included enlarging parts of the existing Episcopal palace and razing other parts to make way for new structures. Ornamental gardens surrounded the palace, some of them containing exotic wildlife such as lions and peacocks. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 10; Okey, *Story of Avignon*, 211-30.

with it in which five Popes were consecrated.⁶² The Palace is a vast pile more like a castle to be defended by armies, than the residence of a minister of the Prince of Peace.⁶³ In walking through its massive walled corridors and galleries, some of them frescoed with saints and angels, its stately towers, its hall of the consistory,⁶⁴ and peeping into its dungeons, its room of inquisition⁶⁵ where people were tortured and doomed to death for rejecting the dogmas of the Romish faith,⁶⁶ I almost hated the name of Church.

What a horrible lie that Romish Church has palmed off upon the people of this and other country pretending that its Pope, is the Vicegerent of God,⁶⁷ the Creator of the

⁶²Seven popes actually reigned from Avignon, at least for part of their papacy: Clement V from 1305 to 1314; John XXII from 1316 to 1334; Benedict XII from 1334 to 1342; Clement VI from 1342 to 1352; Innocent VI from 1352 to 1362; Urban V from 1362 to 1370; and Gregory XI from 1370 to 1378. When Gregory XI moved the papacy back to Rome in 1378, he died shortly thereafter. More than one person claimed to be pope over the next forty years, known as the Western Schism. Two of the antipopes who ruled from Avignon were Clement VII from 1378 to 1394, the first antipope during the Western Schism, and Benedict XIII from 1394 to 1423, whom the council of cardinals at Pisa deposed in 1409. Frank J. Coppa, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Vatican and Papacy* (Westport, Conn., 1999), 360-61; Catholic University, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1:941.

⁶³Jesus, as prophesized in Isaiah 9:6.

⁶⁴Constructed by Bertrand Galfuer and Pierre de Lunelle and completed in 1341, the Hall of Consistory is where the pontiff sat enthroned among the cardinals. Adorned with faded frescoes by Simone Memmi of Siena, the chamber measures about 135 feet by 12 feet. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 10; Okey, *Story of Avignon*, 218-19.

⁶⁵Within the massive square Tower of St. John, there is a Chamber of Torture. A flight of steps hewn from the rock leads to the dungeon. At the north end of the Consistory are the great kitchen, the Tour des Latrines, and several offices. Guides told visitors that the funnel-shaped chimney from the oven in the kitchen was the vent of the Inquisition torture chamber. John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers on the Riviera, from Marseilles to Pisa, with Outlines of the Routes Thither, and Some Introductory Information on the Climate and the Choice of Winter Stations for Invalids* (London, 1892), 7; Okey, *Story of Avignon*, 219-20.

⁶⁶Of or pertaining to the Church of Rome, its ceremonies, beliefs, and teachings; Roman Catholic in spirit and practice.

⁶⁷Vicegerent; the Pope, as representative of God or Christ.

Universe, and how strange it is that millions of sane men have believed this stupendous and most arrogant lie.

[Tuesday,] 11 January [1887]

Still in Avignon. This has been a great day for Helen and myself. We have not only gone through the Palace of the Popes, but we have visited the fort St. André and threaded our way through one of the best preserved Feudal Castles, now to be found in Europe.⁶⁸ Through structures like these and the Popes Palace we see hear and feel more of the past than by any amount of reading. There is a fascination about Avignon and its vicinity, makes me hate to leave though I must do so tomorrow. It was a great place five hundred years ago, and great in its associations now. I shall probably have occasion to speak of it in detail by & bye.⁶⁹

[Wednesday,] 12 January [1887]

[D]eparted Avignon pour Marseilles.⁷⁰ Stopt two hours at Varéan,⁷¹ so the the

⁶⁸Settled by the Benedictines in the sixth century and rebuilt several times, Fort St. André occupies a hill near Avignon that is the traditional burial place of St. Cesarie, Bishop of Arles. Philip the Fair, the king from 1285 to 1314, erected a castle on the site in the fourteenth century, and John the Good, who ruled France from 1319 to 1364, rebuilt the walls and towers. A small Romanesque chapel of the twelfth century adorns the interior, offering a splendid view of Avignon and the Alps. Okey, *Story of Avignon*, 387-89.

⁶⁹Douglass did write a speech on his travels in Europe, including his observations on Avignon. Written in two parts, the speech first covers the sojourn through Britain and northern France, delivered on 15 December 1887 in Washington, D.C. No evidence exists that Douglass ever delivered the second part of the speech, covering his travels through southern France, including Avignon, Italy, Greece, and Egypt. *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 5:278-79, 311-14.

⁷⁰Marseilles, a major Mediterranean port, is a seventy-five mile train ride from Avignon, passing through Tarascon and Arles. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 11, 13-14; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1899.

⁷¹Fourteen miles outside Avignon and eight miles before Arles, the train made its only scheduled stop at Tarascon, known for its fourteenth century Church of St. Martha and its large medieval castle with a drawbridge. Murray, *Riviera*, 7-8; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3108.

ruins of the old Amphitheater⁷² a magnificent structure, saw the remains of an Roman Theatre,⁷³ a long row of stone coffins found near the Town while constructing the Railway[.]⁷⁴ [R]ode through the crooked narrow streets of the old town, some of them so narrow that one may shake hands or stab his neighbor without crossing over to do either. The guide book told us A. was remarkable for its beautiful women.⁷⁵ They must been in their houses. They certainly did not appear in the streets. The town seemed the deadest I have seen in France.

[Thursday,] 13 January [1887]

Arrived in Marséilles last night too dark to get a view of the blue waters of the Mediteranien. We took a room at the grand Hotel Beauvau.⁷⁶ On the morning of the 14th Took Helen into a small boat and was rowed out to the old Chateau D'If made famous by the story of Monte Christo by Alex. Dumas.⁷⁷

⁷²The arena at Arles, about five hundred yards in circumference and seating twenty-six thousand, is the largest extant Roman amphitheater in France. Once used for gladiators and wild beasts, the arena was later the site of bloodless bullfights. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 14; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:159-60.

⁷³The theater at Arles is a Roman structure of traditional design, including a stage with three doors, an orchestra with seating for persons of rank, and tiers of seats for the common people. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 14.

⁷⁴On the southeast side of Arles is a Roman burial ground, known as Aliscamps or Champs Elysées, with ancient sarcophagi. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 15; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:160.

⁷⁵One guidebook avers that the beauty of the lower class women in the area was noteworthy and probably attributable to their Greek ancestors. Murray, *Riviera*, introduction, 9.

⁷⁶The Grand Hôtel Beauveau, located at Rue Beauveau 4, faced the sea. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 16.

⁷⁷The Château d'If is a location in *The Count of Monte-Cristo*, a historical romance first published in 1844 by Alexander Dumas (1802-70). The principal character, a young sailor named Edmond Dantès, escapes from a prison at Château d'If after serving fourteen years for a crime he did not commit. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 18; Magill, *Masterpieces in World Literature*, 158-60.

[Saturday,] 15 January [1887]

Took train for Nice.⁷⁸ Stopt at Hotel West End.⁷⁹ Nice is a celebrated winter resort for health, and is a most delightful place, both for climate and the splendid view of the blue waters of the Mediterranean.⁸⁰

Spent but one day here and pushed on through Mentone and several other interesting towns to Genova.⁸¹ Took board for three days, and this brought us to Tuesday, 18th.

⁷⁸The largest and one of the best-known resorts on the French Riviera, Nice is a tourist destination due to its mild climate. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 105; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:2180.

⁷⁹The Hôtel Westend was a first class hotel on the Promenade des Anglais, a park laid out by English residents from 1822 to 1824 on land that bordered the bay. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 102, 106.

⁸⁰The winter retreat season at Nice for Europeans began in January with the start of the horseracing season at the Hippodrome and closed at the beginning of April with a regatta. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 105, 108.

⁸¹The trip from Nice to Mentone, a small town formerly belonging to Monaco and ultimately annexed by France in 1860, is fifteen miles by train, passing through Monaco and Monte Carlo. The one hundred mile trip from Mentone to Genoa passes through the Italian towns of San Remo, Porto Maurizio, Alassio, and Savona, among others. Genoa, or Genöva in Italian, was the principal commercial town in Italy at the time, with extensive port activity. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 78, 90-102; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:1094, 2:1952.

[Tuesday,] 18 January [1887]

Came to the old Town of Pisa.⁸² Saw the Leaning Tour,⁸³ the Cathedral,⁸⁴ the chandelier suspended in it, and of which it is said that Gallileo obtained his idea of the motion of the Earth.⁸⁵ Saw also the Baptistry remarkable for its architectural proportion and its wonderful accoustic properties.⁸⁶ The effect of this reverberating quality of the place is almost startling and yet very pleasing.

[Wednesday,] 19 January [1887]

[T]he day of days in our tour, for it brought us to Rome.⁸⁷ We are stopping at the

⁸²Located six miles from the Mediterranean Sea on the banks of the Arno River, Pisa became one of the most powerful seafaring and commercial cities of the eleventh century and took a prominent part in the Crusades. After reaching the apex of its power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Pisa succumbed to Florentine control. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 353; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2446.

⁸³Located on the Piazza del Duomo, the Campanile, or clock tower, is the best known structure in Pisa. At a height of 179 feet and eight stories tall, the oblique position of the clock tower, thirteen feet off the perpendicular at the time, gave it the common name of the Leaning Tower. Started in 1174 and finished in 1350, the change of the angle in the upper floors indicates an attempt to compensate for the settling of the foundation in the building process. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 356; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2446.

⁸⁴Erected after a Pisan victory at sea in 1063 near Palermo and completed in 1118 when Pope Gelasius II consecrated it, the Cathedral in Pisa is a basilica with a central elliptical dome. The noteworthy edifice is white marble, with black and colored ornamentation. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 354, Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2446.

⁸⁵Galileo (1564-1642), born in Pisa, was a student and later a teacher there. Legend holds that the swaying of a bronze lamp in the nave of the Cathedral inspired the idea of the isochronisms of a pendulum to Galileo. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 354-55; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2446.

⁸⁶The Baptistery, begun in 1153 and completed in 1278, is entirely marble, with Gothic additions in the fourteenth century. Covered with a conical dome, the interior has a noteworthy echo. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 355; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2446.

⁸⁷When the Etruscans invaded the area where Rome stands in the eighth century B.C., they probably unified the tiny villages of the area into a city-state. Overthrowing the invaders around 500 B.C., the Romans established a republic, which survived for four hundred years. Governed by its senate and later by its emperors, Rome built an empire, beginning with the Punic Wars and climaxing during the *Pax Romana*, or the two hundred years of peace beginning around 31 B.C.

Hotel Du Sud,⁸⁸ a very comfortable Hotel. It is night and we must curb our curiosity till morning. The ride from Pisa to Rome, is for the most part in sight of the Mediterranean on the one hand and snow capped mountains on the other and yet men were blowing green fields on either side of the road and women were at work in the fields also. All the plowing was done by oxen and they of a very long horned breed. Olive and pine trees, the latter called umbrella pines because of their shape,⁸⁹ made a pleasing feature of the Landscape.

[Thursday,] 20 January [1887]

This day has been rich in accomplishment. It was our first morning in the Eternal City⁹⁰ and had for us an interest which no words at my command can fitly describe. I stood

With the removal of the capital of the empire to Constantinople and the division of the Empire into East and West in the fourth century A.D., Rome fell in importance. At the same time the new tolerance for Christianity allowed Rome to become a center of that religion, if not the center of power, and allowed the popes to increase their power over time. During the Middle Ages, the papacy was essentially the only noteworthy institution or feature of Rome. After the Babylonian Captivity of the fourteenth century, during which the papacy moved to Avignon, France, the papacy returned to Rome and experienced rejuvenation during the Renaissance, building magnificent churches and commissioning an array of artwork. The political power of the papacy began to wane, however, as the unification movement in Italy grew. The Italian kingdom, established in 1862, did not include Rome, which remained under the control of Napoleon III. Italian troops captured Rome in 1870 after the fall of Napoleon, and it became the capital of Italy in 1871. In the end, the pope had political control over the Vatican, which remains a sovereign state. Karl Baedeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers; Second Part, Central Italy and Rome*, 9th ed., (Leipsic, Ger., 1886), 122-32; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2639-40.

⁸⁸The Hôtel du Sud was on Via Capo le Case 56. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 106.

⁸⁹The umbrella pine, or sciadopitys, derives its name from the Greek *skias* or *skiados*, meaning canopy or umbel, and *pitys*, Greek for pine or fir tree. An evergreen tree native to East Asia, but commonly grown as an ornamental elsewhere, the umbrella pine can reach a height of one hundred feet in a natural environment. The umbrella pine has scale-like needles along its stems, as well as whorls of flattened needles around the stems, which resemble an umbrella. *ABC Biologie, English: Concise Encyclopedia Biology*, trans. and rev. Thomas A. Scott (New York, 1996), 1171; H.L. Gerth van Wijk, *A Dictionary of Plant-Names*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1971), 2:1530; Umberto Quattrocchi, *CRC World Dictionary of Plant Names*, 4 vols. (Boca Raton, Fla., 2000), 4:2429.

⁹⁰This epithet for Rome appears in Ovid and Tibullus, and in many official documents of the empire. Elizabeth Knowles, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (Oxford, 2000), 344; Adrian Room, ed., *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 15th ed. (New York, 1995), 368.

where until recently I never expected to stand, under the Dome of St. Peters, the largest Cathedral in the world, and around which clusters a larger interest perhaps than any other so called Christian edifice.⁹¹ In looking at its splendor, one could not help being deeply impressed by its gorgiousness and perfection despite of its utter contradiction to the life and lessons of Jesus. He was meek and lowly, but here was little else than pride and pomp. It is well for the world that the age that could rear this wonderful building so perfect in architectural grace has past. Yet in view of what it speaks of architectural skill of man and of his possibilities we may rejoice that this marvellous building was erected and that it will long stand to please the eye of man[.]

[Friday,] 21 January [1887]

Another bright day, cool and bracing, and the blue sky answered well stereotyped discriptions. The time was favorable for viewing the vast assemblage of shattered ruins spread out before us in the great Roman Forum, the Forum of Trajan and other features of the ancient greatness of Rome.⁹² We did not view these alone. Men and women were there perhaps from each quarter of the globe, seated or standing in the sunlight with pencils, pens and note books in their hands noting the fallen columns, broken tablets, over which skillful

⁹¹The Church of St. Peter's in the Vatican is the largest church in the world, covering 18,000 square yards, while the Cathedral in Milan covers 10,000, St. Paul's in London 9,350, and St. Sophia in Constantinople 8,150. The dome of St. Peter's, designed by Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1563), is 403 feet high. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 276-77.

⁹²Ancient Rome had several forums, or centers for business, worship, and public assembly and ceremony. The oldest of these, the Roman Forum, contains the Basilica Julia, the Temple of the Vestal Virgins, and the Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus, among other structures. Begun by the Emperor Trajan and designed by Apollodorus of Damascus, the Forum of Trajan is the most magnificent of the forums in Rome, measuring 220 yards in width and containing the marble Trajan's column, a 147-foot statue celebrating Trajan's victory over the Dacians. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 217-27; 235-37.

artificers thought and wrought long before the Babe of Bethlehem⁹³ was born. I have seen nothing more impressive and solemn, nothing that tells so eloquently the story that all who live must die and at last, not only for man, but for all his best endeavors it is dust to dust ashes to ashes.⁹⁴ Marble, granite in whatever vastness shape hardness or position must yield to the soft touch of time. Yet how grandly and persistently have these old tablets marble blocks resisted, how nobly have they endured to bear testimony to the energy, the ambition and the greatness of the people who two thousand years

Sunday, 23 January [1887]

Visited a second time the Pincian hill⁹⁵ and in the bright sunshine of that day took another view of the great city and listened to its thousand bells calling its people to worship. The scenes and sounds of that hour were full of interest and suggestive of thought, carrying the mind back over vast periods of history, and the effect was heightened in the afternoon of that day when we stood upon the Capitoline hill⁹⁶ and surveyed the stupendous

⁹³Jesus, who was born in Bethlehem. Matt. 2:1; Luke 2:4-7.

⁹⁴In the ecclesiastical service for the burial of the dead, the minister commits the body to the ground with the words, "earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust." The phrase derives from the biblical story of Adam's fall and subsequent punishment from God, in which God tells Adam, "[F]or dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments* (Philadelphia, 1887), 245; Gen. 3:19.

⁹⁵Not considered one of the Seven Hills of ancient Rome, the Pincian or Pincio, north of the Quirinal, rises to a height of 164 feet. A projecting terrace at its apex affords a commanding view of the newer part of the city. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 140, 143; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2639.

⁹⁶The Capitoline or Capitol, the smallest of the Seven Hills of Rome at 161 feet, is the most important historically. Divided into three parts, the Capitol has the church and monastery of Aracoeli on its northern summit and the Palazzo Caffarelli on its southwest point, with the Piazza of the Capitol lying in the depression in the middle. In ancient times the Capitol was the site of the most sacred shrine of Rome, the Temple of Jupiter, built in 509 B.C., and plundered in 455 A.D. by the Vandals. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 203; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2639.

Colossaiem⁹⁷ in the distance and the vast ruins of this famous hill itself over which have rolled the destructive forces of two thousand years.

Monday, 24 [January 1887]

We were by special favor to see some of the interior treasures of St. Peters. This privilege was secured to us by Mrs E. Q. Putman,⁹⁸ and through the friendship for her of an iminent priest. These treasures consisted of costly vestments ormented with gold, silver, rich laces, and all manner of precious stones worn by Popes Cardinals Bishops on great occasions. Then there were gold and silver crosses richly jewelled mitres⁹⁹ and other brilliant things with which papacy well know how to dazzle the eyes of the credulous and superstitious. The sight of these these things only increased my sense of the hollowness of

⁹⁷Originally called the Amphitheatre Flavium, the four-story Colosseum was the largest theater in the world, seating eighty-seven thousand spectators. Completed by Titus in 80 A.D., the Colosseum was the site of gladiator combat, wild animal fights, and naval battles when flooded for that purpose. The Roman barons used the Colosseum as a fortress in the Middle Ages and later staged bullfights there. The structure fell into disrepair until Pope Benedict XIV (1740-58) consecrated it as a holy site due to the blood of Christian martyrs shed there. About one-third of the structure remains. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 230-31.

⁹⁸One researcher identifies the wife of Edmund Quincy Putnam as Agnes Elliston Putnam, originally from Sydenham, England, a borough of London. Married on 24 May 1863, she and Edmund later lived in Rome until her death on 16 April 1901. Other evidence indicates that her name is Gertrude, or that she went by the name Gertrude. There is a letter in Italian, dated 6 May 1887, to Cardinal Lucido Maria Parocchi, the vicar general of the pope in Rome, requesting a special favor for Gertrude Putnam and those in her company. The letter asks that she gain admission to view the chains that allegedly bound Peter during his imprisonment in Palestine and later in Rome, housed in the Basilica of San Pietro, also known as the Basilica Eudossiana. Gertrude Putnam also wrote a letter to Douglass on 16 May 1887, addressing him as "Uncle Frederick." The letter, signed "Niece Gertrude," expresses appreciation for meeting Douglass and for his stay with her family in Rome. Anonymous to Cardinal Lucido Maria Parocchi, 6 May 1887, and Gertrude Putnam to Douglass, 16 May 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 505, 512-13, FD Papers, DLC; Dorothy Burnett Porter, "The Remonds of Salem, Massachusetts: A Nineteenth-Century Family Revisited," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 95:259, 292 (1986); Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1726, 3:3072.

⁹⁹A tall cap, deeply cleft at the tip, usually of white linen or satin, worn by certain church officials as a sign of great dignity.

the vast structure of the Romish Church and my conviction that Science must in the end do for that church what time has done for the vast structures of kingly pride and power, which is broken and mouldering all over Rome.

From the rooms in which we saw these costly vestments we were conducted to a room on the opposite side of the great church, in which we were shown two of the veretable Thorns which peirced the brow of Jesus on the day of his crucifixion,¹⁰⁰ a casket containing the head of St Luke,¹⁰¹ the shin bones of Lazerus, the brother of Mary and Martha,¹⁰² and a lock of the hair of the Virgin Mother of Jesus.¹⁰³ These were shown us by a gowned Priest who seemed to believe what he said. He also showed us a piece of the cross upon which Jesus was crucified. In passing about the grand Cathedral we saw sundry celebrations of Mass going on men and women bowing and crossing themselves, and some kissing the toe of the statue of St. Peter, which toe has already been nearly kissed away.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰After Pilate sentenced Jesus to death, the Roman soldiers made a circlet out of briars and forced it onto Jesus' head. Because Jesus claimed to be a king, leading to his conviction of treason, the crown is a part of the soldiers' ridicule of Jesus. Matt. 27:29; Mark 15:17-19; John 19:2-4; George Arthur Buttrick, ed., *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (New York, 1962), 1:746.

¹⁰¹A physician and a colleague of the apostle Paul, Luke is the reputed author of the third gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles. Phil. 1:24; Col. 4:14; 2 Tim. 4:11; David Noel Freedman, ed., *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6 vols. (New York, 1992), 4:397.

¹⁰²According to the gospel of John, Jesus raised Lazarus of Bethany, the brother of Martha and Mary, from the dead. This is not the same Lazarus as the one in Luke, who was poor in life and rich after death, in contrast to a man rich in life and poor after death. John 11:1-44; Luke 16:19-31; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4:265.

¹⁰³Mary, mother of Jesus Christ.

¹⁰⁴A bronze statue of St. Peter sits in the nave of St. Peter's by the fourth pillar on the right. Brought by Paul V from the monastery of Santo Martino, the fifth-century statue rests on a white marble throne under a canopy. Devotees customarily kissed the right toe of the statue at the time, wearing away most of that toe. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 278.

Tuesday, 25 [January 1887]

Went to the Vatican[.] Saw among other great pictures a modern one proclaiming the new dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, the Mother of Jesus.¹⁰⁵ The announcement of this fresh tax upon the credulity of the faithful in this picture is well calculated to impress favorably the devout Catholic[.] The face of Pope Pius¹⁰⁶ was given by the artist a celestial expression surpassing any modern attempts in that direction I have seen. Some of the faces of the Cardinals seemed to be a little doubtful and had been brought to consent to the new dogma under external pressure rather than internal conviction.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵The term immaculate conception represents the dogma that the Virgin Mary was free from original sin from the moment Mary's mother became pregnant with her. Unlike the rest of humanity, infected with sin from the time of conception, sin did not taint Mary from the very beginning of her life, and thus Mary was the suitable mother for the Christ, the Son of God. This dogma became an official doctrine of the Catholic Church when Pope Pius IX announced it in the papal bull *Ineffabilis Deus* on 8 December 1854, the day that continues to be a liturgical feast. Catholic University, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 7:378, 381; Richard P. McBrien, ed., *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (San Francisco, 1995), 655-56.

¹⁰⁶Giovanni-Maria Mastai-Ferretti (1792-1878) was the Bishop of Imola when the conclave of cardinals elected him to the papacy in 1846. As Pope Pius IX, he refused to surrender political control over any part of the papal territories or Rome to rebels seeking to establish a secular state, or to support a war of national liberation against Catholic Austria. In 1848 public unrest forced Pope Pius into exile, and the temporal power of the papacy ended in 1849 with the establishment of a republic in Rome. Under his rule the power of the church waned in such affairs as education and clerical appointments, becoming affairs of state. By the end of his reign, the modern state of Italy, free from papal authority, existed. Eric John, ed., *The Popes: A Concise Biographical History* (New York, 1964), 437-40; Bruno Steimer and Michael G. Parker, eds., *Dictionary of Popes and the Papacy*, trans. Brian McNeil and Peter Heinig (New York, 2001), 124-26.

¹⁰⁷The doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary has been controversial for centuries. One argument, made by St. Bernard of Clairveaux in the twelfth century, opines that since sexual intercourse is sinful, even within the confines of marriage, sin taints everyone at conception, even Mary. Others such as Alexander of Hales in the thirteenth century aver that because everyone needs redemption through Jesus Christ, Mary would not need redemption, being conceived without sin. The controversies continued to the time of the papal pronouncement in 1853 embracing the immaculate conception of Mary and beyond. Raphael M. Huber, *The Immaculate Conception in the Western Church* (Rome, 1954), 5, 19, 28-29; Adrian Hastings, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford, 2000), 415.

After seeing the wonders of the Vatican went to lunch with the Putnams, at their Hotel.

Palazzor Moroni 165 Borgo, Vecchio, Roma.¹⁰⁸

We spent here the remainder of the day and spent it very pleasantly. The elder Mrs Putnam, was formerly Miss Caroline Remond,¹⁰⁹ sister to the late Charles Lenox

¹⁰⁸The Borgo Vecchio, along with the Borgo Nuovo, are two streets running from Castle St. Angelo to the Vatican. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 272.

¹⁰⁹Caroline Remond Putnam (1826-1908) was the youngest child of John and Nancy Lenox Remond, free blacks living in Salem, Massachusetts. Born in Curaçao, John Remond immigrated to the United States in 1798 to become a hairdresser and lifelong member of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Nancy was a caterer and later joined the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society, as did Caroline. Frustrated in attaining an education as a child in the public schools, Caroline, along with two of her sisters, followed their father's profession and ran a stylish hair salon and manufactured wigs, the largest operation of its type in the state. Caroline also produced and marketed a tonic for hair loss. She married antislavery supporter Joseph Hall Putnam (1826-59), a Boston schoolteacher and hairdresser. They had two children: Louisa Victoria, who died in childhood three months after her father, and Edmund Quincy. Beginning in 1859, Caroline made several trips abroad to travel and later to visit her sister Sarah, who had taken up residence abroad. In these travels, Caroline was the victim of racial discrimination on steamships, at hotels, and at the U.S. legation in London. In 1885 Caroline, along with her sister Maritcha, joined Sarah in a self-imposed exile in Europe. Dorothy Sterling, ed., *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1984), 96, 147n, 180; Porter, "Remonds of Salem," 291-93; Ruth Bogin, "Sarah Parker Remond: Black Abolitionist from Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 110:120, 148 (1974); Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, eds., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York, 1982), 522.

Remond.¹¹⁰ Her son Edmund¹¹¹ married a Miss Elleson of Cheltenham England,¹¹² a very pleasant lady who is now the Mistress of the house. We met here she that I knew forty years

¹¹⁰Born a free black man in Salem, Massachusetts, Charles Lenox Remond (1810-73) initially followed in the footsteps of his father, John Remond, as a hairdresser. As an eloquent and compelling orator, Charles was also a frequent speaker for the antislavery cause, the first black to do so in public, and by 1838 was an agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. In the company of Reverend Ichabod Coddington, Charles toured Massachusetts, Maine, and Rhode Island to promote abolition. Chosen a delegate to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London, Charles traveled with William Lloyd Garrison and the other representatives of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but had to travel in steerage due to his skin color. A sensational speaker at the convention, Charles remained in Great Britain to lecture there and in Ireland for a year and a half after the other American delegates had returned. Charles came back to the United States in 1841 bearing a noteworthy address from the Irish with sixty thousand signatures urging their American countrymen to support the abolitionists. Upon his return Charles found that the spotlight had shifted while he was abroad from him to another antislavery orator, Douglass, who had recently accepted a lecturing post with the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Charles and Douglass frequently traveled together on speaking tours, but their relationship soured by 1852 when Douglass did not support Garrison's view of the Constitution, as Charles did. His health failing, Charles continued to lecture and write against slavery, but on a more limited basis. During the Civil War Charles recruited for a Massachusetts regiment that was the first from the North to send black troops into combat. After the war Charles served as a light inspector and later as a customhouse clerk until his death. Les Wallace, "Charles Lenox Remond: The Lost Prince of Abolitionism," *NHB*, 40:696-98 (May-June 1977); "William Wells Brown on Charles Lenox Remond," *NHB*, 10:104, 118-19 (February 1947); Porter, "Remonds of Salem," 273-81; *DANB*, 520-21; *NCAB*, 2:303; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 11 vols. (New York, 1931), 8:499-500.

¹¹¹Edmund Quincy Putnam was the son of Joseph Hall Putnam and Caroline Remond Putnam. In 1865 he studied medicine in Vienna and later practiced medicine in London. While studying abroad Putnam was a foreign correspondent for several papers, including the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Independent*, and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. He later lived in Rome with his wife and his mother. Porter, "Remonds of Salem," 292.

¹¹²Located in west central England near Gloucester, Cheltenham is a vacation and health resort since the discovery of mineral springs in 1716. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:613.

and more ago as Miss Sarah Remond,¹¹³ and also Maricha Remond.¹¹⁴ A daughter of the late Rev John Sargent¹¹⁵ is boarding with the Putnams. It was very delightful to meet this

¹¹³One of the youngest children of John and Nancy Remond, Sarah Parker Remond (1824-94) did not follow her sisters into the profession of hairdressing or the business of catering, the lines of work of their parents. Desiring to be educated, Sarah encountered prejudice in the public schools she attended as a child, and much of her early education occurred in the home. Adhering to her family's opposition to slavery, Sarah became active in the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society, as well as the antislavery organizations of Essex County and Massachusetts. Sarah gained notoriety as a victim of racism in 1853 when authorities forcibly ejected her from a Boston theater and later from a Philadelphia exhibition when she attempted to take her assigned seat in the white section of the auditorium. In 1856 Sarah received a lecturing position with the American Anti-Slavery Society, speaking often with her brother Charles in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Ohio. Growing weary of racism in the United States, Sarah traveled abroad in 1859 where she lectured extensively in England, Scotland, and Ireland, at times with Douglass, raising money for the American Anti-Slavery Society and organizing local antislavery chapters. From 1859 to 1861 Sarah realized her dream of a formal education, attending the Bedford College for Ladies in London. After the emancipation of the slaves, Sarah lectured on behalf of the freedmen, raising money and soliciting clothing. After a brief return to the United States in 1866, Sarah went back to Europe, establishing her domicile in Florence where she studied at the Santa Maria Nuova Hospital for two years. She earned a diploma certifying her to practice medicine in 1868, which she did in Florence for several years. In 1877 Sarah married Lazzaro Pintor, a native of Sardinia. She died in London and was buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome. Douglass to Amy Post, 25 May 1860, Post Papers, NRU; Parker Pillsbury, *Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles* (Concord, N.H., 1883), 487; Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman and Arthur Crawford Wyman, *Elizabeth Buffum Chace, 1806-1899: Her Life and Its Environment*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1914), 2:43; Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 96, 147n, 175-80; "A Colored Lady Lecturer," *English Woman's Journal*, 7:269-74 (1 June 1861); Porter, "Remonds of Salem," 281-89; Bogin, "Sarah Parker Remond," 129-132; Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 3:136-37; *DANB*, 522-23.

¹¹⁴Along with her sister Cecelia Remond Babcock (1816-1912) and later with her sister Caroline Remond Putnam, Maritcha Juan Remond (c.1816-95) was one of the operators of the Ladies Hair Work Salon in Salem, Massachusetts. Maritcha never married and took care of the business while Caroline traveled abroad extensively after 1859. In 1885 Maritcha and Caroline elected to live permanently abroad, joining their sister Sarah Parker Remond as European expatriates. Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 96, 147n, 180; Porter, "Remonds of Salem," 290-92.

¹¹⁵Christine K. Sargent was the daughter of John Turner Sargent (1807-77), a Unitarian minister from Boston. Reverend Sargent was a graduate of Harvard and Cambridge Divinity School. A staunch advocate for a free pulpit, he defended his friend, Theodore Parker, whose views on religion were controversial. A supporter of abolition, temperance, and woman's suffrage, Reverend Sargent served as an officer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Christine K. Sargent to Douglass, 11 May 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 510-11, FD Papers, DLC; Samuel Cutler, "Rev. John Turner Sargent, A.M.," in *Memorial Biographies of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society*, 9 vols. (Boston, 1907), 7:243-44; John R. McKivigan, *The War*

charming circle of Massachusetts people away off here in the City of Rome. Like myself the Remond sisters with exception of Caroline have grown quite old, but in all of them I saw much of the fire of their eloquent Brother Charles.

[Wednesday,] 26 January [1887]

Called to see Miss Edmonia Lewis¹¹⁶ who had loaned Helen some Books, found her in a large building, near the very top in a very pleasant room with a commanding view. No. 4 Via Venti Settembre, Roma.¹¹⁷ Here she lives, and here she plies her fingers in her art as a sculpturer. She seems very cheerful and happy, and successful. She made us obliged to her for kind offers to serve us in any way she could, and she certainly seems able to serve us in many ways. She has resided in Rome twenty years and constantly speaking Italian has some what impaired her English.

Against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches, 1830-1865 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), 71.

¹¹⁶The first major black sculptor in America, Mary Edmonia Lewis (c.1844-c.1911) was the child of a nomadic Chippewa mother and a black father who was a gentleman servant. Called "Wildfire" as a child due to her wandering existence and orphaned at five, Lewis eventually attended grade school near Albany, New York, and Oberlin College in Ohio, where she studied art. Leaving Oberlin in 1863, Lewis settled in Boston where she became acquainted with William Lloyd Garrison and his abolitionist colleagues. After successfully sculpting a bust of Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, a Boston Civil War hero, and selling over one hundred copies of it, Lewis earned enough money in 1865 to purchase a ticket to Rome, the international capital of sculpture. Once there she successfully tapped into her heritage for inspiration. She sculpted statues motivated by the Emancipation Proclamation, including *The Freed Woman and Her Child* (1866) and *Forever Free* (1867). She also produced works based on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, *The Song of Hiawatha*, including *Minnehaha* (1867) and *The Old Arrow Maker and His Daughter* (1872). Her best-known work was *Hagar* (1875), the Egyptian slave rejected by Abraham after she bore his son, representing the alienation of black women in white society. Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, *American Women Sculptors: A History of Women Working in Three Dimensions* (Boston, 1990), 51-56; Glenn B. Opitz, ed., *Dictionary of American Sculptors* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1984), 239.

¹¹⁷The Via Venti Settembre, named for the day the Italians entered Rome in 1870 after ejecting the French occupational troops, connects the Porta Pia, the gate where the Italians chiefly directed their attack, with the Quirinal, one of the Seven Hills of Rome. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 132, 140, 164.

Thursday, 27 January [1887]

We started for Naples¹¹⁸ and after a pleasant ride of six hours, beginning with rain and ending with sunshine, with the snow clad Appenines,¹¹⁹ delighting our eyes as we rode along with their changing forms, and lofty heights, and the valley through which we passed out spread with well tilled fields, spotted here and there with heads of sheep, and occasional groups of women, in picturesque head gear, hard at work with spud¹²⁰ and hoe, among the vines and gardens, to increase the charm of the journey, we arrived at Naples.

Before entering the city we were startled by a wonderous spectacle one which almost paid us for our voyage across the Sea. It was a vast volume of vapore and smoke converted by brilliant sunbeams into snowy whiteness and grandly floating off over the blue Mediteranian, from the far famed Vessuvius mountain.¹²¹ The sight awed and held

¹¹⁸Founded by Greeks and captured by Romans in the fourth century B.C., Naples was a favorite city of the Romans due to its scenic beauty and baths. Naples passed under Byzantine rule in the sixth century A.D. until becoming an independent duchy in the eighth century. Beginning in the twelfth century, Naples came under the influence of a succession of foreign rulers, including the Normans, Germans, and Spaniards, ultimately becoming the capital of the Kingdom of Naples until annexed into the modern state of Italy in 1860. Karl Baedeker, *Italy: Handbook for Travellers; Third Part, Southern Italy and Sicily, with Excursions to the Lipari Islands, Malta, Sardinia, Tunis, and Corfu*, 9th ed. (Leispic, Ger., 1887), 31-32; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:2119.

¹¹⁹Running the length of the Italian peninsula, the Apennine Mountains start in northwestern Italy where they join the Ligurian Alps. They continue to the Strait of Messina, lying between the peninsula and Sicily, the mountains of which are actually a continuation of the range. The southern portion of the system contains active volcanoes, including Etna and Vesuvius, and that area experiences many earthquakes. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 181; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:132.

¹²⁰An implement having the characteristics of a chisel and a spade, used for digging, lifting, or cutting.

¹²¹Located on the eastern shore of the Bay of Naples in southern Italy, Vesuvius is the only active volcano on the European mainland. The height of Vesuvius, around four thousand feet, changes with each eruption, the first recorded one occurring in 79 A.D. Another cycle of volcanic activity began in 1631, with eruptions recorded eight times in the eighteenth century, nine times in the nineteenth century, and three in the twentieth century. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 120-24; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3342.

us in almost breathless interest, and became more imposing and impressive the longer we beheld it.

[Friday,] 28 January [1887]

Our excursion to day took us to the Bourbon Palace and its beautiful grounds on Capo di Montin,¹²² a splended place giving us a splended view of the Bay, Vesuvius, Serento, Capri, and the surrounding country.¹²³ The Palace is a plain stately building without, but very richly furnished and abounds with numerous works of Art, paintings and statuary.¹²⁴ A picture of the assassination of Julius Ceaser was very striking,¹²⁵ and one of Michel Angelo, kissing the hand of his dead friend, Vitoria Colonna, fixed attention.¹²⁶

¹²²Begun in 1738 by Charles III and finished in 1839 by Ferdinand II, the Palazzo di Capodimonte was once the residence of the Bourbon kings. Partly laid out in English style, the gardens contained a pheasant preserve, used as a breeding ground in the spring. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 44; Nicola Spinosa, ed., *The National Museum of Capodimonte*, trans. Philip Sands, Gabriella Granata, and Sara Carcatella (Naples, Italy, 1996), 7-8.

¹²³Located on the point separating the Bay of Naples from the Gulf of Solerno, Sorrento is a small fishing village surrounded by lemon and orange gardens and deep ravines. Its climate and location on the sea make it a popular summer resort. Capri, an island located off the tip of the Sorrento peninsula, is also a tourist destination due to its climate and scenery. There are two small towns on the island, Capri and Anacapri. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 156-57; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:534, 3:2974.

¹²⁴The Palazzo di Capodimonte houses the royal Museo di Capodimonte, an extensive but not very valuable collection of modern Neapolitan art. The museum also contains the Farnese collection, inherited by Charles of Bourbon from his mother. In addition to paintings and drawings, the Farnese collection includes some porcelain manufactured locally and a collection of armor formerly housed at the Palazzo Reale. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 44-45; Spinosa, *National Museum*, 7-8; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:2119.

¹²⁵Painted between 1793 and 1806, *Death of Caesar*, or *The Murder of Julius Caesar*, is a painting in the Museo di Capodimonte by Vincent Camuccini, a Roman painter. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 44, 395; Spinosa, *National Museum*, 153.

¹²⁶Born into a noble family, Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547) married Fredinando Fransesco d'Avalos, marchese di Pescara, in 1509. Upon his death in 1525, Colonna began composing poems memorializing him. While respected as a poet, Colonna is most famous for her friendships with noteworthy authors of her time, including the poets Jacapo Sannazzaro and Ludovico Ariosto, as well as Pietro Bembo, author of one of the earliest Italian grammars. Nonetheless, her most famous

Besides Helen and myself our party was composed of Miss Gates,¹²⁷ Miss Lewis,¹²⁸ Mr and Mrs Hipwell. Miss Gates is an artist and philanthrope, has done a great deal for the colored people.

[Saturday,] 29 January [1887]

Spent the fore noon in writing. Afternoon went with Helen and Mrs Davis of Ind.¹²⁹

association was with Michelangelo, who drew pictures for her and exchanged letters and poems with her. Michelangelo was at Colonna's side when she died, and this scene is the subject of a painting by Francesco Jacovacci, completed in 1880 and part of the collection of the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples. Maud F. Jerrold, *Vittoria Colonna, with Some Account of Her Friends and Her Times* (New York, 1906), 3, 5-11, 13-14, 29, 98-101, 121, 127-35, 296, 314; Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, *Vittoria Colonna: Dichterin und Muse Michelangelos* (Vienna, 1997), 486.

¹²⁷Born in Otega, New York, Adelia Sarah Gates (1825-1912) left home at the age of twenty-two to work in the cotton mills of Lowell, Massachusetts. In her thirties Gates attended Antioch College in Ohio, but she had to drop out due to ill health. In 1867 she traveled to Paris for an exhibition and remained outside the United States for most of the rest of her life. When she was fifty, Gates mastered the art of watercolors under the tutelage of Madam Vouga in Geneva, Switzerland. She spent the remainder of her life painting the wildflowers of Italy, Algiers, and other foreign places. In 1880 a family illness forced her to return to the United States, where she painted wildflowers from California to New York. During this stay in the United States, she became acquainted with the Douglasses, at least by March 1886. Returning to Europe in 1886, Gates was with the Douglasses in Rome when they were there the first time and on their first visit to Naples. Deposited in the Smithsonian Institute Archives upon her death, her collection includes 502 watercolors of native and exotic plants. Helen Pitts Douglass to Jennie, 25 April 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frame 490, and Adelia S. Gates Autograph, 6 March 1886, Addition, 1851-1964 and Undated File, reel 34, frame 144, FD Papers, DLC; New York Times, 26 April 1914; Adela E. Orpen, *The Chronicles of the Sid: Or the Life and Travels of Adelia Gates* (New York, [1897]), 27, 37, 99-105; Phil Kovinick and Marian Yoshiki-Kovinick, *An Encyclopedia of Women Artists of the American West* (Austin, Tex., 1998), 359.

¹²⁸Eleanor Lewis was the niece of Adelia Gates. Upon the death of Gates, Lewis donated her collection of watercolors painted by Gates to the Smithsonian Institute Archives. Lewis was with the Douglasses while they were in Rome, too, but she is not Edmonia Lewis, the sculptor Douglass visited when in Rome. Helen Pitts Douglass to Jennie, 25 April 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 490-92, FD Papers, DLC; New York Times, 26 April 1914; Kovinick and Yoshiki-Kovinick, *Women Artists*, 359.

¹²⁹Hannah Ellen Brown Davis (1841-98) was the widow of Clarkson Davis and resided in Spiceland, Indiana. Married in 1863, the Davises ran the Spiceland Academy, a school established by the Friends, until his death in 1883. Under their leadership the Spiceland Academy enjoyed an outstanding reputation as an educational institution. Clarkson Davis was also a popular lecturer and essayist in Indiana, often basing his work on a tour through parts of Europe. Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 45, and H.E. Davis to Douglass, 25 December 1889, General Correspondence

an amiable lady, to San Martino, a convent of the Capuchin Monks, the largest convent of the kind in the world.¹³⁰ It is however no longer a living convent. It has been taken possession of by the Government, and its fine halls are now a museum full of paintings and many other interesting works of Art.¹³¹ The church in this old convent is one of the most costly in Europe. I have seen so much of these religious paintings, that I was less interested in what I found here than in the fine view of the city and harbor.¹³²

Sunday, 30 [January 1887]

Heard a strange sermon at the U.P. Church, on the greatness of man.¹³³

File, reel 5, frame 624, FD Papers, DLC; Elwood Pleas, *Henry County, Past and Present: A Brief History of the County from 1821 to 1871* (New Castle, Ind., 1871), 79, 112; *The People's Guide: A Business, Political and Religious Directory of Henry Co., Ind.* (Indianapolis, 1874), 324; *History of Henry County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1884), 427-28; Rerick Brothers, *The County of Henry, Indiana: Topography, History, Art Folio, Including Chronological Chart of General, National, State, and County History* ([Richmond, Ind., 1893]), 16-17.

¹³⁰Built in 1325 by Duke Charles of Calabria, the monastery of San Martino housed a Carthusian order, not a Capuchin order. The compound consists of a monastery court, laboratory, cloisters, and church with three chapels. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 90-91; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:2119.

¹³¹When the Carthusians abandoned the monastery, the Museo Nazionale took control of it to house its overflow of Neapolitan paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The museum also displays china, porcelain, silver, models of Italian fortresses, and other various artifacts of the Naples vicinity. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 90-91.

¹³²Several paintings adorn the church, including depictions of the ascension, the crucifixion, and the twelve apostles by Giovanni Lanfranco, the descent from the cross and Christ washing the feet of the disciples by Massimo Stanzioni, Moses and Elias, the twelve apostles, and communion of the apostles by Giuseppe Ribera Spagnoletto, the unfinished nativity by Guido Reni, and Christ washing the feet of the disciples by Giovanni Battista Caracciolo. While the contents of the museum are noteworthy, San Martino is famous for its picturesque views of Naples and its bay, Mount Vesuvius, and the Apennines from two balconies off its hexagonal belvedere. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 90-91, 395-97.

¹³³Started in 1871 by Reverend A.F. Buscarlet, the United Presbyterian Church in Naples served tourists visiting Naples in the winter, but mainly consisted of foreign residents. By the time Reverend Buscarlet left in 1874 the congregation had built a sanctuary, manse, and classrooms for day students, located at 2 Vico Coppella Vecchia. Reverend Gordon Gray led the congregation from 1874 to 1881 when he left to serve the United Presbyterian Church at Rome. Under his leadership

Monday, 31 January [1887]

Went to museum with Miss Lewis the friend of Miss Gates.¹³⁴ A birds eye view of pictures, statuary and many objects of interest, taken from the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum.¹³⁵ The perfection of some of these in form color and utility was remarkable considering their antiquity. In some respects they transcended modern art. The museum is something to be seen not once but many times in order to comprehend its many attractions[.]

Tuesday, 1 February [1887]

I contented myself in walking alone along the Villa Nazionale,¹³⁶ looking at the

the church acquired more space for its expanding education program. In 1881 Reverend T. Johnson Irvine, who had been serving at Malta, became the minister of the church and served the congregation for forty years until he retired in 1921. Fluent in Italian and an accomplished student of Hebrew and Greek, Reverend Irvine was a successful fundraiser and noted preacher. With the help of his wife and his daughter, the school operated by Reverend Irvine more than doubled in size during his tenure. The church closed in the 1920s when the foreign resident population of Naples dwindled. At the time of the Douglasses' visit, the United Presbyterian Church held services at 11:00 A.M. and 3:30 P.M. on Sundays, and at 3:30 P.M. on Wednesdays. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 26; Albert G. MacKinnon, *Beyond the Alps: The Story of the Scottish Church in Italy and Malta* (London, [1937]), 123-27.

¹³⁴Built in 1586 as a cavalry barrack and later housing the university, the Museo Nazionale, formerly the Museo Reale Borbonico, contains the royal collection of antiquities and pictures. Included in the collection are Egyptian and Roman antiquities, but most noteworthy are the objects of art from Pompeii and the bronzes from Herculaneum. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 59-84; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:2119

¹³⁵Pompeii and Herculaneum are two of the cities in the vicinity of Vesuvius destroyed when it erupted in 79 A.D. Buried under twenty feet of volcanic ash and lava, the cities remained undisturbed until rediscovered in 1748 when excavations began. The artifacts and built environment are remarkably well preserved and provide valuable examples of Roman art, much of it moved to the Museo Nazionale at Naples. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 127-31; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1270, 3:2475.

¹³⁶Formerly named the Villa Reale and generally referred to as La Villa, the Villa Nazionale was the most popular promenade in Naples at the time. Laid out in 1780 and expanded over the years, the grounds are in the Italian style, adorned with trees, sculptures, antiquities, fountains, and an aquarium. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 85-86; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:2119.

fishermen on the Bay and the fast horses, which dashed by. In the Evening lectured on John B.¹³⁷ to a fine audience in the U.P. Ch. presided over by the Rev Mr Evering.¹³⁸

Wednesday, 2 February [1887]

In company with a large and pleasant party headed by Rev J.C. Fletcher.¹³⁹ We

¹³⁷Born in Connecticut and raised in Ohio, John Brown (1800-59) grew up in a family fiercely opposed to slavery. Adopting this view himself, Brown and five of his sons traveled in 1855 to the Kansas Territory, a region violently divided at the time over whether to become a slave state. When proslavery residents of Missouri murdered several antislavery settlers at Lawrence, Kansas, Brown and his sons retaliated by killing five proslavery adherents at Pottawatomie Creek in April 1856. Brown's national reputation for violent resistance to slavery grew when he and his sons repulsed a sizable proslavery force at Ossawatimie, Kansas, in August 1856. Brown had for years devised a plan to free the slaves through the use of force, an idea he shared with Douglass when the two first met in 1847. Over the years Brown sought the approval of Douglass for this plan and even tried just before the execution of the plan to obtain Douglass's blessing, but Douglass refused to endorse this course of action. In October 1859 Brown led a force of twenty-two men, three of them his sons, to capture the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The next day federal troops and the local militia attacked Brown's forces, killing ten and capturing Brown. Convicted of murder and treason and hanged, Brown became a martyr for abolitionists. Because a letter from Douglass was in Brown's possession at the time of the insurrection, some newspapers called for Douglass's arrest as an accessory to the crimes. Douglass fled to Great Britain in 1859 for his own safety, returning the next year upon hearing of the death of his youngest child, Annie. Douglass spoke about John Brown on several occasions, delivering one of the most famous of these speeches, entitled "Did John Brown Fail?" at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, on 30 May 1881 at the graduating ceremonies of Storer College. Robert M. DeWitt, *The Life, Trial and Execution of Captain John Brown, Known As "Old Brown of Ossawatimie"* (1859; New York, 1969), 8-9, 11-13, 19-20, 29-37, 100-101; Richard J. Hinton, *John Brown and His Men* (New York, 1968), 260-62, 581-82; Otto J. Scott, *The Secret Six: John Brown and the Abolitionist Movement* (New York, 1979), 163-64, 282-84, 293-94; John Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002), 246-51; *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 5:7-35; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 197.

¹³⁸Reverend T. Johnson Irvine from Naples forwarded his card to Douglass in a letter from J.C. Fletcher. J.C. Fletcher to Douglass, 17 February 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frame 455, FD Papers, DLC.

¹³⁹Born in Indianapolis, James Cooley Fletcher (1823-1901) was the son of Calvin and Sarah (Hill) Fletcher. After graduating from Brown University and attending Princeton Theological Seminary, Fletcher affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. He studied in Europe for a year, where he married Henrietta, the daughter of Reverend César and Jenny Malan, in Geneva in 1850. Fletcher served as a missionary to Brazil for several years before settling at Newberryport, Massachusetts, where he wrote and lectured for six years. In 1869 Fletcher moved to Portugal where he was with the United States consulate. From 1873 to 1890 Fletcher resided in Naples, Italy, as a voluntary missionary for the Waldenses and the Free Church of Scotland. He returned to the United States in his final years, dying in Los Angeles. *NCAB*, 13:130; *DAB*, 2:1576.

went to Pozzuoli, the Puteoli of the Bible,¹⁴⁰ and dined on the Shore of the river Styx.¹⁴¹

The whole excursion was deeply interesting. The ground over which we went was full of Roman remains and the evidence of the wealth and genius of that enterprising and war like people. The landing place of Paul,¹⁴² the tomb of Vergil,¹⁴³ the home of Cicero where Brutus parted with Portia,¹⁴⁴ the ruins of Temples¹⁴⁵ were shown us with many other objects. It was a day long to be remembered. That which interested me most was the fact that I was looking upon the country seen eighteen hundred years ago by the Prisoner

¹⁴⁰Founded originally by the Greeks and named Dicaearchia, the city of Pozzuoli was on the coast of the north shore of a bay running north from the bay of Naples. When the Romans conquered and recolonized the town in the third century B.C., they renamed it Puteoli, and it became the primary station for traffic between the coast of Italy and Egypt, as well as other parts of the East. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 99; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2503.

¹⁴¹To the west of Pozzuoli is a lake named Lacus Avernus, a dark and toxic body of water. It is the traditional site of the entrance to the underworld, marked by the River Styx in Roman mythology. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 103-04; Sabine G. Oswalt, *Concise Encyclopedia of Greek and Roman Mythology* (Chicago, 1969), 271.

¹⁴²On his trip from Jerusalem to Rome to stand trial, Paul landed in Puteoli and remained there seven days. Acts 28:13-14.

¹⁴³On the western edge of Naples is a tomb, the alleged burial place of the poet Virgil. The sixteen square foot chamber is a Roman columbarium with a vaulted ceiling and three windows. Ten niches for urns holding cremains line the wall, in addition to one recess of apparently greater size. Virgil, who wrote the *Aeneid* and *Georgics* while living in Naples, requested to be buried there, and he was interred in Naples after he died in Brindisi in 19 B.C. While the accuracy of the claim is historically questionable, local legend favors that this is the place of Virgil's burial. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 88; Peter Levi, *Virgil: His Life and Times* (London, 1988), 225-26.

¹⁴⁴The Hill of Posilipo, on the western edge of Naples, is the site of a villa where Brutus fled after the murder of Caesar in 44 B.C. When Brutus left for Greece before the battle of Philippi, he bade farewell to his wife Portia at this villa as well. While Cicero did visit Brutus at the villa, Cicero did not own it, as the son of Lucullus possessed the villa where Brutus engaged in these activities. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 93.

¹⁴⁵One of the first temples excavated at Pozzuoli was the Temple of Serapis, or Serapeum, in 1750, later thought to be a market and not a temple. Other temples in the vicinity include the Temple of Neptune and the Temple of the Nymphs. All three are partially submerged by the sea. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 100-101.

apostle on his way to Rome to answer for his religion.¹⁴⁶ It somehow gave me a more vivid impression of the heroism of the man as I looked upon the grand ruins of the religion against which Paul dared to preach.¹⁴⁷ These heathen Temples represent a religion as sincerely believed in as men now believe in the Christian religion, and Paul was an infidel to this heathen religion as much as Robert Ingersoll¹⁴⁸ is now to the Christian religion.

Thursday, 3 [February] 1887

Was a day spent in comparative quiet. We needed to rest from the labors of the previous day.

Friday, 4 January [1887]¹⁴⁹

Another brimful day. In company with Mr Fletcher who knows this region about the Bay of Naples by heart. We went to Pompeii destroyed in the year 79, by the ashes and lava of Vesuvius. I was told in Rome that there was little to see in Naples, but it was almost worth the voyage across the Atlantic to see the part of Pompeii already unearthed and to

¹⁴⁶Due to Jewish hostility to Paul's message of Christianity, the Romans arrested Paul in Jerusalem. Paul appealed to Caesar, and a Roman escort transported Paul to Rome where he remained for two years under house arrest. Acts 24:1-28, 30.

¹⁴⁷See, e.g., Paul's address to the Athenians, wherein he derides them for superstitious and ignorant worship. Acts 18:22-31.

¹⁴⁸Born in Dresden, New York, Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-99) was the son of a Congregational minister who served parishes in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one, Ingersoll practiced law in Illinois with his brother, Ebon Clark Ingersoll, who later represented Illinois in Congress. From 1867 to 1869 Ingersoll served as the attorney general for Illinois. Best known as the "great agnostic," Ingersoll utilized his debating skills to promote agnosticism on the lecture circuit. Ingersoll ended his legal career in New York, where he retired in 1896. Clarence L. Barnhart, ed., *The New Century Cyclopedia of Names*, 3 vols. (New York, 1954), 2:2119; *ACAB*, 3:348; *NCAB*, 9:255-56; *DAB*, 5:469.

¹⁴⁹Friday, 4 February 1887.

think of the two thirds of it still under ground.¹⁵⁰ All that has been said and written of this buried city is exceeded by the city itself. It speaks to us of the age and body of ancient times with a power and vividness which holds us in breathless and thoughtful attention. These Pompeians, some of whose forms are exhibited in the musiem¹⁵¹ were wealthy and powerful slave holders, and surrounded themselves with luxuries which surpass in some respects those of modern civilization. The magnificence of their dwellings, the splendour of their temples, the extent of their amphitheatres, the costliness of their decorations in paintings and sculpture, the arrangement of their baths, cold and warm, tell of vast wealth, marvellous thought and skill.¹⁵² The vanity of all efforts in this line is enforced with

¹⁵⁰When a peasant found some statues and bronze utensils at the site of Pompeii in 1748, it captured the attention of Charles III, who ordered excavations to begin. The first structures uncovered included the Amphitheatre, the Temple of Isis, and other structures on the western edge of the town. Excavations continued under the Bourbon kings, who were more concerned with retrieving items of value, and hence the process was unscientific and poorly documented. When the Bourbons lost power in 1860, Giuseppe Fiorelli became the director of excavations at Pompeii for the newly formed Italian state. Dividing Pompeii into nine regions, archaeologists had excavated part or all of seven of the nine at the time and estimated that approximately half of the town had been uncovered. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 128-29; Tim Murray, ed., *Encyclopedia of Archaeology: History and Discoveries*, 3 vols. (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2001), 3:1058-60.

¹⁵¹From 1861 to 1872, archaeologists uncovered eighty-seven human skeletons and those of three dogs and seven horses at Pompeii. After the corpses decayed, they left an impression on the encompassing ash, which later hardened. Fiorelli devised a method of removing the bones and filling the cavity with plaster, rendering a detailed cast of the persons and animals in the last moments of their lives. Eight of these human figures and one of a dog are on display at the museum at Pompeii, including one of a man lying on his side, a man lying on his face, a tall elderly woman, and a young girl with a ring on her finger. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 128, 133; Murray, *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, 3:1059.

¹⁵²Although the names of a few of the owners of the dwellings are known, such as the House of Marcus Lucretius, the houses excavated at Pompeii generally receive a name relating to unique items found in the dwelling. Hence the House of the Faun derives its name from the bronze statue of a dancing faun in its courtyard, and the House of the Tragic Poet received its name from two representations in one of its rooms, one of a poet reading and the other of a theatrical production. Among the temples excavated at the time were those dedicated to Apollo, Mercury, and Jupiter. Pompeii has two theaters: the Great Theatre, seating five thousand; and the adjacent, better preserved Small Theatre, seating fifteen hundred. In addition the Amphitheatre on the edge of town could accommodate twenty thousand spectators. The baths of Pompeii consist of several rooms for

tremendous emphasis as we walk amid these vast ruins and feel that even what we see are only one third of what lie still buried under the ashes of the still smoking mountain we see in the distance.

Sunday, 6 February [1887]

Attended U.P. Church in the morning. Heard a sermon on Balaam¹⁵³ by Rev. Mr. Irving,¹⁵⁴ rather a memorable discourse. Dined with Mr. Gutheridge an English Gentleman.¹⁵⁵ In the Evening listened to Mr Jones¹⁵⁶ who preached in Italian at the Methodist Church.¹⁵⁷ I was called upon for a few words at the close, which were interpreted by Mr Jones. I congratulated the congregation that they had now the Liberty to worship outside the Romish Church, and said a few words of human Brotherhood.

special purposes, including dressing rooms, warm baths, hot air baths, and cold baths. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 134-36, 138, 144, 146-47, 151-52; Erich Lessing and Antonio Varone, *Pompeii* (Paris, 1996), 46-49, 52-55, 60-65; Robert Etienne, *Pompeii: The Day a City Died* (New York, 1992), 95-113.

¹⁵³In the Old Testament, Balaam is a diviner summoned by the agents of the King of Moab to curse Israel. Instead, Balaam issues a series of blessings on Israel for a promising future. Other stories hold that God either turned Balaam's curse into a blessing or that God convinced Balaam to bless Israel by a display of power, namely a talking she-ass. Balaam is also responsible for the apostasy with the Midianites at Peor, leading the Israelites to kill him in battle. Deut. 23:5-6; Num. 22:5-24:25; 31:8, 16; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1:569-72.

¹⁵⁴Reverend T. Johnson Irvine.

¹⁵⁵Mrs. Gutteridge sent her regards to Douglass in two letters from J.C. Fletcher. J.C. Fletcher to Douglass, 27 April, 1 May 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 495-97, 500-502; FD Papers, DLC.

¹⁵⁶From 1863 to 1903 Reverend T.W.S. Jones served the Methodist Church in Naples. With the aid of two Italian ministers, Reverend Jones was the first to collect in 1870 the Italian Methodist hymns for use in Italy and the United States. Reginald Kissack, *Methodists in Italy* ([London, 1960]), 25.

¹⁵⁷Built in 1874, the Methodist Church in Naples was on a steep slum street called San Anna di Palazzo. Kissack, *Methodists in Italy*, 10; Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 26.

Monday, 7 February [1887]

We go today to Amalfi¹⁵⁸ in company with Mr and Mrs Murry from Sidney Australia.¹⁵⁹ The ride is said to be one of the most delightful of any of this surpassingly charming Bay of Naples. The Rev J.C. Fletcher is to accompany us.

Tuesday, 8 [February 1887]

We have found the ride to Amalfi more delightful and more impressive than any description of it written or spoken.¹⁶⁰ The road must have taxed engineering skill to the utmost. They who built it had to fight against sea and land, against heights and depths above and below, and solid rocks in front. The road is an engineering triumph, and affords one of the finest rides in the world. The towns along the road side, with their terraced gardens of lemons and oranges seem riveted to the bold over hanging rocks to keep them tumbling headlong into the sea. Some of the curves in the road in order to overcome the steepness and depths take the form of a horse shoe the heels of which come close to each other and making the impression that we were travelling in a circle. The view of the sea from the road is a constant delight to the eye. Little and large vessels dot the whole coast with their white sails & oppose their attractions to the many pleasing sights that invite attention to the

¹⁵⁸Amalfi, a small fishing town on the Gulf of Salerno, was once a rival to Pisa, Genoa, and Venice as a maritime power until the Normans sacked it in the twelfth century. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 175-76; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:89.

¹⁵⁹William G. Murray was a member of the Commission in Sydney for the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in London. Colonial and Indian Exhibition, *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886 Official Catalogue* (London, 1886), xviii.

¹⁶⁰Hewn in the mountainside or supported by large viaducts as it hugged the rocky coast, the road from Sorrento to Amalfi along the coast is one of the most popular tourist routes in Italy. Completed in 1852, the road runs through rugged landscapes and charming scenery. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 174; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:89.

mountains along whose base we ride. After reach Amalfi. We had the greatest treat of all, a ride upon Donkees, to the Capuchin Convent, once the home of the Capuchin Monks.¹⁶¹

Wednesday, 9 February [1887]

We went yesterday to far famed Pestum,¹⁶² passing through Selerno,¹⁶³ a beautifully situated town on the coast, the fine white buildings of which were seen long before we reached it on our way from Amalfi. At Paestum we saw the celebrated Temple of Neptune built seven hundred years before the birth of Christ, and here it stands to day, in stately and solemn grandeur, impressive by its loneliness as well as by its enduring perfections.¹⁶⁴ Twenty five hundred years have shaken their hoary locks over its majestic

¹⁶¹Founded in 1212 by Cardinal Pietro Capuano for the Cistercians, the Capuchin Monastery in 1583 came into the possession of the Capuchins, a mendicant Franciscan order founded by Matteo di Bassi in 1526 and named for the peculiar capuche with a longer point than that of other Franciscans. Situated on a rook steeply rising 230 feet from the sea, the monastery contains cloisters, a grotto, and a verandah with superb points of view. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 176-77.

¹⁶²Around the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C., the Greeks founded a city on the Gulf of Solerno in southern Italy, which they named Poseidonia in honor of the god of the sea. Ultimately Rome recolonized the city in 273 B.C., calling it Paestum. The site is famous for its well-preserved Doric temples, built by the Greek settlers in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 172; Pellegrino Claudio Sestieri, *Paestum: The City, the Prehistoric Necropolis in Contauto Gaudio, the Heraion at the Mouth of the Sele* (Rome, 1953), 5-6; John Griffiths Pedley, *Paestum: Greeks and Romans in Southern Italy*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1990), 11; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2335.

¹⁶³Solerno is a port and the principal city on the Gulf of Solerno, as well as the seat of local government and of an archbishop. It is the site of a famous medical school that reached its peak in the twelfth century but closed in 1817. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 169-70; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2722.

¹⁶⁴Of the three ancient Greek temples at Paestum, the largest is the so-called Temple of Neptune, which measures sixty-three yards long by twenty-eight yards wide. Built around 450 B.C., it is the second oldest, but best preserved of the three. Archaeologists called it the Temple of Neptune because they erroneously believed it was the oldest, and thus built in honor of the god for whom the city was named, Neptune being the Roman equivalent of Poseidon. Subsequent discoveries revealed that the temple replaced the oldest one, both dedicated to the worship of Hera Argive, goddess of fecundity. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 172-73; Sestieri, *Paestum*, 12-14; Pedley, *Paestum*, 80-88; Oswalt, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, 199.

form, and sunshine and storm have honey combed its massive walls and pillars, yet there it stands and is likely to stand a thousand years hence. It has seen Pompeii and Herculanium rise and perish. It has seen Rome rise decline and fall, and a new religion wax & wane, Empires grow strong and crumble, and may see changes immense and innumerable. There is something truly solemn in contemplating this old Temple.

To day we are writing letters to America,¹⁶⁵ a heavy rain storm darkens the sky of Naples and makes us glad to remain under cover. Spent the Evening at Mr J.C. Fletchers.

Thursday, 10 February [1887]

[T]he rain continues. *Tres Mauvais temp*¹⁶⁶ and we are still in the house.

¹⁶⁵No record remains of the letters that the Douglasses wrote on this date.

¹⁶⁶In French, very bad weather.

Friday, 11 February [1887]

Wrote letters to Charley,¹⁶⁷ Ada,¹⁶⁸ and Lewis,¹⁶⁹ and told them to direct letters To Care of Mr Edmund Q Putnam: Palazza Moroni: 165 Borgo, Vicchio: Roma. Spent the

¹⁶⁷Born in Lynn, Massachusetts, Charles Remond Douglass (1844-1920) was the youngest son of Frederick and Anna Murray Douglass. Named for his father's friend and fellow black antislavery speaker, Charles Lenox Remond, Charles attended the public schools in Rochester, New York, and delivered newspapers for his father. He became the first black from New York to enlist for military service in the Civil War, volunteering for the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry. When President Lincoln discharged Charles due to poor health in 1864 at the request of the elder Douglass, Charles planned to go to Tennessee to invest in cotton lands. Instead he married Mary Elizabeth Murphy, called Libbie, in 1866 and served as a clerk in the war department from 1867 to 1869, and in the treasury department from 1869 to 1875. In 1875 he became a clerk in the U.S. consulate in Santo Domingo, but he returned to the United States in 1878 when his wife died. He married Laura Haley and became a real estate developer. No record exists of the letter Douglass wrote to Charles on 11 February 1887. James M. Gregory, *Frederick Douglass, the Orator* (1893; New York, 1971), 203-06; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 103, 222, 230, 239-40, 362, 385.

¹⁶⁸Born in Washington, D.C., Julia Ada Douglass (1873-?) was the fourth child of Charles and Libbie Douglass. When his wife died in 1878, Charles placed his surviving children temporarily in the homes of his brothers and father. Julia Ada lived with Douglass. Mary Louise (1875-?) lived with Lewis and Amelia Douglass. Charles Frederick (1868-?) and Joseph Henry (1870-?) lived with Frederick Douglass, Jr., and his wife, Virginia. No record exists of the letter Douglass wrote to Ada on 11 February 1887. 1880 U.S. Census, Washington, District of Columbia, 97, 143, 165; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 297.

¹⁶⁹Born in New Bedford, Massachusetts, Lewis Henry Douglass (1840-1908) was the eldest son of Frederick and Anna Murray Douglass and was eight when his family moved to Rochester. Educated in the Rochester public schools, Lewis helped his father with his newspaper. He enlisted in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry during the Civil War, holding the rank of sergeant major and taking part in the attack on Fort Wagner in South Carolina in July 1863. After the war Lewis and his brother Frederick went to Colorado where Lewis worked for the Red, White, and Blue Mining Company, serving as its secretary. In 1869 he returned from Denver to work in the Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C. That same year he married Helen Amelia Loguen, daughter of Bishop J.W. Loguen of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Under the Grant administration Lewis served as a member of the council of legislation for two years and as a special agent for the Post Office for two years. Considered the ablest of Douglass's children, Lewis held the office of assistant marshal for the District of Columbia under the Hays administration. Thereafter he engaged in the real estate business. Although Lewis and Amelia Douglass had no children of their own, they did help raise Charles's daughter, Mary Louise, after her mother's death, and later took custody of the son of Frederick Douglass, Jr., Charley Paul, after both of the child's parents had died. Douglass did in fact write Lewis a letter from Naples dated 11 February 1887. Douglass to Lewis Douglass, 11 February 1887, FD Collection, DHU; 1880 U.S. Census, Washington, District of Columbia, 97; Gregory, *Frederick Douglass*, 202-03; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 81, 222, 226, 248-49, 258, 271, 365.

Evening with Mrs Fletcher¹⁷⁰ and her guest Mrs Davis. We decided to day to extend our visit to Egypt and Greece, and if all is well we shall go on board the largest steamer (the *Ormuz*)¹⁷¹ afloat and shall steam away over the blue waters of the Mediteranian to the Land of the Pharaohs.¹⁷² The thought of this trip to Egypt and Greece will probably keep me awake to night. This tour is entirely outside of my calculation when leaving home, but it will be some thing to contemplate when it is done. It is no small thing to see the land of Joseph and his brethren,¹⁷³ and from which Moses led the Children of Abraham out of the house of Bondage.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰J.C. Fletcher married his second wife, Frederica Jane Smith, in 1872 at the U.S. consulate in Oporto, Portugal, where he worked. *DAB*, 3:465-66.

¹⁷¹Completed in 1886 at Govan in Glasgow, Scotland, the *Ormuz* was a steel-hulled single screw steamship weighing 6,031 tons. Operated by the Orient Steam Navigation Company, the eighteen-knot steamer sailed the route from London to Gibraltar, Naples, Port Sa'id, Suez, Melbourne, and Sydney, accommodating 106 first-class, 170 second-class, and 120 steerage passengers. On 3 February 1887 the ship made its maiden voyage from London. The *Ormuz* last sailed on 18 August 1911. In 1912 the Cie de Navigation Sud-Atlantique purchased the *Ormuz* and renamed it the *Divona*, eventually breaking her up in 1922. John M. Mabey, *North Star to Southern Cross* (Lancashire, Eng., 1967), 14, 103-04, 117; Duncan Haws, *Merchant Fleets in Profile*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1978), 1:139.

¹⁷²Derived from the Egyptian word meaning "Great House," the term pharaoh refers in general to the kings of ancient Egypt. The title gained popularity from its biblical usage, particularly in the story of the Exodus. Room, *Brewer's Dictionary*, 822.

¹⁷³Joseph is one of the twelve brothers in the Old Testament whose names established the twelve tribes of Israel. Jealous of Joseph's coat of many colors and his status as Jacob's favorite son, Joseph's brothers sell him into Egyptian slavery. After experiencing many advances and suffering several reversals, Joseph attains a high office in Pharaoh's court, enabling him to save his brothers and their tribes from a famine. Gen. 37-50; Pierre Montet, *Egypt and the Bible*, trans. Leslie R. Keylock (Philadelphia, 1968), 7-15; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 3:976-78.

¹⁷⁴In the book of Exodus the pharaoh enslaves the children of Israel after they had lived in Egypt for many years. Moses, sent by God to free the Israelites from bondage, inflicts a series of plagues on the Egyptian people when the pharaoh refuses to accommodate his request. Eventually the pharaoh relents, allowing the Israelites to escape from Egypt in a miraculous and ultimately lengthy sojourn through the wilderness and to the Promised Land. Montet, *Egypt and the Bible*, 16-35; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4:909-11.

Saturday, 12 February [1887]

To conseir forty Franks, and she refunded twenty franks.¹⁷⁵

[Sunday,] 13 February [1887]

On board the steam ship Ormuz, bound for Egypt. This morning at eight o'clock Helen called me to the Bullseye,¹⁷⁶ to catch my first view of Strumboli,¹⁷⁷ a volcanic mountain conical shaped, abruptly from the sea. There were white clouds about its base, but the morning light rested upon its summit, and made it beautiful. Soon after this there loomed in the distance the mountainous shores of Sicisily, and those of Southern Italy, Messina on the one hand and Corigio on the other, and the straites between them in front of us.¹⁷⁸ It was a deeply interesting spectacle, and the morning was well fitted to heighten the effect. I could but congratulate myself, that born as I was a slave marked for a life under the

¹⁷⁵Francs; the name of a French coin, differing in value from time to time; since 1795, a silver coin representing the monetary unit of the decimal system.

¹⁷⁶A circular window.

¹⁷⁷Stromboli, a volcanic island that is part of an island group in the Tyrrhenian Sea to the northeast of Sicily, is the legendary home of Aeolus, the god of the winds, because the direction of the volcanic smoke allegedly predicts the weather three days in advance. In the Christian tradition, Stromboli is the entrance to purgatory, and returning crusaders claimed to hear the cries of tortured souls while passing the island. The island has several craters of an active volcano, one of the few that is in a constant state of activity. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 329; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1748.

¹⁷⁸Closely connected with Italian peninsula geographically and geologically, Sicily, the largest island in the Mediterranean, is a continuation of the Apennine range. The Strait of Messina divides the island from the peninsula of Italy. On the Sicilian side of the strait is Messina, the second largest city on the island and the busiest port in Italy. Reggio flanks the strait on the peninsula side, and it is the capital of the province of the same name. The whirlpools, winds, and currents that hamper navigation in the straight give rise to the legend that it is the home of Scylla and Charybdis, two mythical nymphs who torture sailors. On the peninsula side, Scylla grabs men from any passing ship with her six heads and twelve claws. Charybdis intermittently sucks in the water on the Sicilian side, devouring entire ships. Sailors had to choose between the two when passing through the strait. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 221, 229-31, 319; Oswalt, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, 262; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1960, 3:2590, 2914-15.

lash in the corn feild that was abroad and free and privileged to see these distant lands so full of historical interest and which those of the most highly favored by fortune are permitted to visit. I find myself much at ease on this steamer. I am known to passengers and officers and all a like, seem to wish to make my voyage pleasant to me. It is now blowing pretty hard and our good ship is tumbling about on the sea, in a manner which makes it hard to write. We did not get a glimpse as we hoped in passing Siscily, of far famed Etna.¹⁷⁹ We were told that it was hidden by the clouds. We hope for better luck on our return.

Monday, 14 February [1887]

If right in my estimate of the length of time I have been in the world, I am now 70 years old.¹⁸⁰ Aside from a cold and a little hint of Sea sickness, I am quite well strong and cheerful. This is a trying day for Helen and many other ladies on Board. The wind is strong and the waves run high. Few seem ready for dinner. My case is better than most, for I am

¹⁷⁹On the east coast of Sicily, Mount Etna, or Aetna, is the highest active volcano in Europe at 10,958 feet. It has three distinct zones of vegetation: subtropical, yielding figs, bananas, and citrus, up to 1,600 feet; temperate, containing vineyards and fruit trees, as well as chestnut, birch, and pine wood, up to 7,000 feet; and desolate waste, containing lava, ash, and snow, to the top. In mythology, Etna is the place of imprisonment for two characters, the giant Enceladus and Typhoeus, the mightiest enemy of Zeus, both of whose fiery tongues emerge from the volcano. Etna is also the site of the workshop of Hephaestus, the god of fire. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 345-47; Oswalt, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, 117, 129, 293; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:964.

¹⁸⁰Ascertaining the year of his birth was a project that Douglass never abandoned. In fact the final entry in his diary, dated 18 March 1894, concerns information Douglass sought to discern dates for this purpose. The only written record of his birth indicates that Douglass was born in February 1818, the same year he indicates in his first autobiography, but this record is suspect. By the time Douglass wrote his second autobiography, he had changed his mind based on erroneous information, concluding that he had been born in 1817. In any event all evidence supports the conclusion that 1818 is the year of his birth. Douglass chose the fourteenth of the month as his date of birth for emotional reasons. The last time Douglass saw his mother she gave him a heart-shaped ginger cake, and he chose Valentine's Day to celebrate his birthday. Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 44, Douglass to Benjamin F. Auld, 16 September 1891, and Benjamin F. Auld to Douglass, 27 September 1891, General Correspondence File, reel 6, frames 246-47, 257-58, FD Papers, DLC; Aaron Anthony Ledger B, 1812-1826, folders 95, 165, Dodge Collection, MdAA; *Douglass Papers*, ser. 2, 1:13, 2:22, 33, 87, 106; Dickson J. Preston, *Young Frederick Douglass: The Maryland Years* (Baltimore, 1980), 31-34.

able to go at the sound of the Bell. I am a little surprised at the wild behavior of the Mediteranian. I expected better things of her. To night I saw the light on the Island of Creet.¹⁸¹ I suppose there was no light there when Paul sailed a long its coast.¹⁸² It is strange that starting life where I did, and old as I am that I shd. be plowing this classic sea and on my way to the land of Moses and the Pharoahs, where Joseph and his brothers went for corn and Jos. was treacherously sold by his brothers into slavery.

Tuesday, 15 February [1887]

The wind has fallen and the sea has gone down[.] Helen is well on her feet again. We hope to be in port Said tomorrow morning.¹⁸³ Our morning which began bright is now over cast with heavy clouds, and the Baromitre is going down. Many are writing home this morning to be mailed I suppose at Port Said, as most of our Passengers are bound to Australia. Not withstanding English reserve I am not at a loss for all the company I want. I answer reserve with reserve, and approaches with approach. My friends are one of the ship

¹⁸¹The largest of the Greek islands, Crete is sixty miles from the Greek mainland and marks the southern edge of the Aegean Sea. One of Europe's earliest civilizations, the Minoan Civilization, inhabited Crete and flourished until 1600 B.C. The island was at times occupied by various foreign powers, including the Romans (67 B.C.-395 A.D.), the Byzantines (395-824), the Arabs (824-961), the Venetians (1204-1669), and the Ottoman Turks (1669-1897), until Crete united with Greece in 1913. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:750.

¹⁸²Paul sailed by Crete on his way from Jerusalem to Rome to stand trial. Acts 27:13.

¹⁸³Port Sa'ïd is a port on the Mediterranean Sea at the mouth of the Suez Canal. Builders of the canal founded the port in 1859 and named it after the viceroy at the time, Sa'ïd Pasha, who governed from 1854 to 1863. It is a principal fueling station for ships entering the canal. Karl Baedeker, *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers; Part First, Lower Egypt, with the Fayûm and the Peninsula of Sinai*, 2nd ed. (London, 1885), 436-38; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2488.

owners Mr Anderson,¹⁸⁴ and Mr W. G. and Mrs. Murry,¹⁸⁵ real hearty and sensible people. Miss Borden from Fall river is on board and is going up the Nile.¹⁸⁶ She is a great traveller and is very agreeable. Five months ago this morning on the deck of the City of Rome Helen and I bid fare well to the shores of America, but with expectation of finding our way to Egypt and I dare not now say how much farther South and East we shall go before we turn our faces homeward—such is life!

¹⁸⁴James Anderson (1811-97), born at Peterhead, Scotland, came to London in 1828 and joined the staff of James Thompson and Company, a ship brokering business. In 1842 Anderson became a partner in the business, and the firm hired his nephew, James George Anderson, in 1854. When James George Anderson became a partner in 1863, the name of the business changed to Anderson, Thompson and Company. During this time the partners expanded their operations to become ship owners in their own right. When the last of the Thompson family retired in 1869, the company became Anderson, Anderson and Company. In association with Frederick Green and Company, the Anderson company established the Orient Steam Navigation Company in 1878, purchasing four steamers to sail regularly from London to Australia. The *Ormuz* was the newest vessel at the time, joining the Orient Steam Navigation Company fleet in 1887. Maber, *North Star*, 99-103; Haws, *Merchant Fleet in Profile*, 1:131-32; Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*, 6 vols. (London, 1965), 4:118.

¹⁸⁵The final destination of the *Ormuz* was Sydney, Australia, the home of William G. Murray. Colonial and Indian Exhibition, *Official Catalogue*, xviii; Maber, *North Star*, 103-04.

¹⁸⁶At the time there were over 125 households headed by people with the surname Borden in Fall River, Massachusetts, an industrial city and port of entry on Mount Hope Bay. The lack of specific information and the high number of potential candidates precludes identification. Sampson, Murdock, and Co., *The Fall River Directory, 1885* (Boston, 1885), 62-65; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:981.

Wednesday, 16 February 1887

Arrived at Port Said: The queerest of queer places. The entrance to the Suez Canal.¹⁸⁷ All nations are here represented, a place to study Ethnology.¹⁸⁸ Our ship is just now coming to the wharf, forty or fifty small boats have already surrounded the ship and their inmates are clamouring like wild fowl of every possible note to the passengers to buy their oranges, lemons figs and other fruits. Soon several Scows¹⁸⁹ loaded with coal to the waters edge to coal our ship for her further voyage. They are soon boarded by a perfect

¹⁸⁷Built from 1859 to 1869, the 110-mile long Suez Canal connects the Mediterranean Sea to the Gulf of Suez. A canal connecting the two bodies of water existed as early as the nineteenth century B.C. Various leaders such as Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who reigned from 286 to 247 B.C., and Trajan, who ruled from 98-117 A.D., restored that canal after it fell into various states of disrepair, but it did not function after the eighth century A.D. The British, who originally opposed the construction of the Suez Canal, became its largest shareholder in 1875 by purchasing the holdings of the Egyptian khedive, Ismâ'il Pasha, who ruled from 1863 to 1879. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 427-31; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3042.

¹⁸⁸While its definition has shifted over time, ethnology is the study of humanity that is specifically focused on cultural commonalities. First used in the late eighteenth century, ethnology became a common concept in English with the publication of James Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind* in 1813. In essence Prichard attempts to trace the history of tribes or races of humanity, to compare their development, and to discern their affinity or diversity of origin, with the ultimate goal of studying the unity of human beings. With the advent of evolution the term ethnology developed a new meaning by promoting classification along racial lines. In the extreme ethnology promoted a barren emphasis on racial classifications, placing it in competition with anthropology, and included the theory that the Negro race was permanently inferior. In the end anthropology prevailed as the generally accepted name for the discipline, while ethnology, or cultural anthropology, became one of the subdivisions of anthropology. Robert H. Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (New York, 1937), 3-38; William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago, 1960), 160-62; George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (Middletown, Conn., 1971), 74-75; David Levinson and Melvin Ember, eds., *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, 4 vols. (New York, 1996), 2:429-35; Thomas Barfield, ed., *The Dictionary of Anthropology* (Oxford, 1997), 157-60.

¹⁸⁹A large flat-bottomed boat with wide square ends, primarily used for carrying bulk material.

swarm of Arab laborers, frocked, hooded, or fezed¹⁹⁰ barefooted and bare legged to the knee, to bring in baskets on their heads the coal on ship board. Heavens! What a wild clamour, what a confusion of tongues, all going at once and each endeavoring to drown the voice of the other, but the work goes bravely on, and one is astonished at the strength cheerfulness and endurance of these Sable children of the desert. I saw among them several genuine Negroes, and they seemed not a whit behind their fellow workmen either in noise or physical ability. When our coal was in we moved on silently, down the the canal towards Ismalia.¹⁹¹ But through what a barren and desolate land do we thread our way? Not a blade of grass, not a tree, not a single dwelling, no sign of human or animal life, except a distant row of Pelicans looking on the plain like a line of foam on the shore of a Sea. On, on we go slowly and noiselessly on a narrow stream of pure blue water, cut through the wide waste of sand, whose limits lie far beyond the range of vision. Night comes: and we anchor till morning since we are not permitted for reasons of safety to proceed in darkness. The stillness of the day is continued in the night and much more impressive by the darkness that has fallen upon the desert. Morning came morning came warm and bright, and we proceed on our way. Our steamer is followed for miles by a little boy screaming for Bacheese.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰A fez is a hat that is cone-shaped with a flat crown and no brim, usually made of red felt and adorned with a tassel, often worn by men in eastern Mediterranean countries.

¹⁹¹Located on Lake Timsâh at the point where the Suez Canal enters it, Isma'îliya was a central point of activity during the construction of the canal. Ferdinand Lesseps (1805-94), the builder of the canal, founded Isma'îliya in 1863 to serve as the administrative headquarters for the construction project. Named after the Egyptian khedive at the time, Ismâ'il Pasha, Isma'îliya declined in prosperity once the canal was completed. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 434; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1397.

¹⁹²Derived from Persian, baksheesh, or bakshîsh, ranges in meaning from a tip, a gift, alms, bribery, or blackmail, and is often requested to accelerate service. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 16.

No sign is given as to where he came from or where he will go. It looks as if he had risen out of the sand. The passengers through him bread and oranges. He pockets them in his scanty clothing and runs on as if nothing had been given him. The amazing thing was that he never was satisfied with his gains nor tired of his running.

Thursday, 17 February [1887]

Ismalia

We reached this place about 12 miday, too late for the train to Cairo,¹⁹³ and must remain here till tomorrow. We were taken a shore from the Ormuz by a small steamer, and have taken lodging for the night at the Hotel Des Bains de Mer,¹⁹⁴ a small, but good food at three dollars per day. I hardly think we can see in any part of Egypt any thing more Egyptian in the manners, customs and appearance of the people than we see here. We saw to day a caravan of Camels bearing their burden over the sand. It vindicated the truth of many pictures of this side of Eastern life. We saw several veiled women¹⁹⁵ bearing jars of water on their heads just as women probably did in the days of Abraham.¹⁹⁶ The market house here is quite worth seeing, even though we shall see larger ones of the same kind

¹⁹³The Fatimid general Al-Qadimah founded Cairo as the capital of Egypt in 969 A.D. on the Nile River, almost directly across from Memphis, the capital of ancient Egypt. Cairo, along with Alexandria, is the administrative and economic center of Egypt, and the first railroad in Africa, built in 1855, linked the two cities. Cairo is the largest city in both the Middle East and Africa. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 241-44; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:495.

¹⁹⁴The Hôtel des Bains de Mer was a small pension on Lake Timsâh. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 434.

¹⁹⁵Many women in the region wore a burko*, or a face veil, covering the whole of the face except the eyes. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 246-47.

¹⁹⁶After receiving a promise from God that his descendants would own the land called Canaan, Abraham fled to Egypt with his wife, Sarah, to escape a famine. The pharaoh took Sarah after Abraham lied, saying that she was his sister. After discovering the deception, the pharaoh sent Abraham and Sarah back to Canaan, but allowed them to keep all of their acquired wealth. Gen. 12:1-12; Montet, *Egypt and the Bible*, 3, 5-6; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1:35.

when we shall reach Cairo. Ismalia is a new town sprung up on the prospect open by the Suez Canal. The conditions for growth is not favorable. I saw a greek patriarch walking a flowing robe here to day wearing a peculiar cap.¹⁹⁷ I find it hard to look with patience upon people who thus parade their religion in their clothes, and who evidently wish to exact homage on account of such pretentions.

Friday, 18 February [1887]

We quitted Ismalia to day at 12 o.clk for Cairo, and a six hour run brought to our destination. This ride will not soon be forgotten. It was through the Bible famous land of Goshen,¹⁹⁸ for the most part a land of unequalled fertility of outspread fields of green vegetation and of flourishing and picturesque palms. Here we saw the same kind of a plow used two thousand years ago,¹⁹⁹ for the people here like the laws of the Medes and Persians, change not.²⁰⁰ Everything we see reminds us of the days of Moses. I do not know of what color and features the ancient Egyptians were, but the great mass of the people I have yet

¹⁹⁷ As the largest population of European residents in Egypt at the time, the Greeks numbered around thirty-five thousand. Generally they engaged in banking and trade, and they constituted the aristocracy in Alexandria. In public at the time Greek Orthodox clergy wore a black undercassock, an ankle-length garment with a close-fitting waist and sleeves, under a black overcassock with very wide sleeves. In addition they wore a kalymauchion, a stove-pipe hat of the Byzantine clergy, with a brim on top. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2d ed., 53; Ken Parry et al., eds., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity* (Oxford, 1999), 277, 400-404.

¹⁹⁸ In Genesis Jacob and his family settled in the Land of Goshen in the eastern Egyptian delta when they fled from a famine in Canaan. The Egyptian pharaoh permitted the clan to stay and appointed them to supervise the royal interests in the region. The family prospered there, remaining until the time of the Exodus. Gen. 46:28-34, 47:1-10; Exod. 8:22, 9:26; Montet, *Egypt and the Bible*, 7, 17; Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 2:1076.

¹⁹⁹ Unchanged for five thousand years, the Egyptian plow consists of a single pole six feet long, connected by a yoke to an ox or buffalo at one end with a handle at the other. Attached to the pole is a curved piece of wood shod with a three-prong piece of iron, which penetrates the ground slightly. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 73.

²⁰⁰ Paraphrase of Daniel 6:8: "Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

seen would in America be classed with Mulattoes and Negroes. This would not be a scientific discription, but an American description. I can easily see why the Mohomitan religion²⁰¹ commends itself to these people, for it does not make color the criterion of fellowship, as some of our so called Christian Nations do.²⁰² All colors are welcomed to the faith of the Prophet. I am stopping at the New Hotel²⁰³ so called. Pretentious on the outside, expensive, but not well kept. I got my first glimps of a pyramid to day as we approached Cairo by the train. It was a little disappointing, but I will wait for a nearer view. On our arrival in Cairo, we were met in the street by a grand Holiday [(]Friday is the Mahomites Sunday²⁰⁴[)] procession, which block the street so completely that we were unable to go on

²⁰¹Named after Mohammed (571-632), the most important prophet in Islam, Mohammedanism was a common way to refer to Islam, and Mohammedans referred to the adherents of Islam. Muslims reject the term Mohammedan because it infers they are worshipping Mohammad and not Allah, a blasphemous notion in Islam. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 140-41; Ludwig W. Adamec, *Historical Dictionary of Islam*, (Lanham, Md., 2001), 199.

²⁰²Islam recognizes that God has created mankind with a diversity of colors and languages, but teaches that Islam is a universal religion that addresses itself to the whole of mankind. Unlike Judaism and Christianity, Islam does not recognize a particular group as chosen or that paradise is only available to a selected segment of humanity. Since everyone is descended from Adam and Eve, all people are deserving of respect for competency and honesty, regardless of race or ethnicity, with no one able to claim superiority due to heritage. There is no distinction between people except on the basis of deeds and what each offers to God and in turn to society. Bernard Lewis, *Race and Color in Islam* (New York, 1971), 6-10; Muhammad Mahmud Said, *Islam Condemns Racial Discrimination*, trans. Ahmad Kamel, 3rd ed. ([Cairo, 1963]), 30-34.

²⁰³The New Hotel faced the Place de l'Opera and Ezbekiyyeh Place, the central point of the Isma'iliyan quarter. Laid out in 1870 and octagonal in shape, Ezbekiyyeh Place was the site of several consulates, the main theaters and shops, and the principal hotels. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 231, 258.

²⁰⁴Performed in a congregational mosque, the special Friday midday prayer is mandatory in Islam. The special congregational observance, which includes a half-hour exhortation by an imam or other competent leader, usually lasts about an hour. Unlike the Jewish Sabbath, Friday is not a day of rest for the Muslims, and business continues. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 147-48; Cyril Glassé, *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*, rev. ed. (New York, 2001), 149; Thomas Patrick Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam: Being a Cyclopaedia of the Doctrines, Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs, Together with the Technical and Theological Terms, of the Muhammadan Religion* (London, 1885), 131-32.

for nearly the half of one hour. Our patience however was rewarded by seeing the Khedive,²⁰⁵ and having from him a gracious bow, and what is better to see the struggling, jostling noisy and eager mass of his turbaned²⁰⁶ subjects, pushing their way between carts, carriages, donkeys and carriages at risk of life and limb. We could not have a better chance of seeing an Egyptian crowd. Though noisy and without form, utterly chaotic, it was good natured, each one took the push of his neighbor without offense. The officer that endeavored to clear the way for the Khedive used a whip instead of sword or bayonet. The sound of the whip upon some of the long skirts was sharp and loud, but no body was hurt.

Saturday, 19 February [1887]

Called upon Mr Cardwell, the American Consul General.²⁰⁷ Was very courteously received by him. Visited two Mosques[.]

²⁰⁵Derived from the Persian name for God, khedive was the title accorded the viceroy or ruler of Egypt in 1867 by the Turkish government, which had ruled Egypt since 1517. The Turkish government initially raised Ismâ'il Pasha to the rank of khedive. In 1879, Ismâ'il's son Tewfik replaced him as khedive. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 107-08; Pierre Crabitès, *Ismail: The Maligned Khedive* (London, 1933), 159-60, 290; Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Egypt* (Boulder, Colo., 2000), 90-91, 207-08.

²⁰⁶In Arab society, the color of a person's turban distinguishes the members of the community by class and sect. The descendants of the prophet wear green. Copts wear blue, while Jews wear yellow. Blue is also the color of those in mourning and for women of the lower classes. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 246; Glassé, *New Encyclopedia of Islam*, 459.

²⁰⁷Appointed by Grover Cleveland in 1885, John Cardwell (1837-93) served as diplomatic agent and consul general for the United States at Cairo, Egypt until 1889, when Eugene Schuyler replaced him. Born in Georgia and appointed from Houston, Texas, Cardwell had a large interest in cotton there. Accompanied by his wife and two daughters to Cairo, Cardwell's salary was the lowest of any foreign government representative in Cairo. *New York Times*, 4 July 1888, 2 July, 23 November 1889; U.S. Department of State, *Register . . . 1887*, 36.

We were not allowed to enter without putting sandals so that infidel shoes shd not touch their sacred courts.²⁰⁸ We saw several washing their feet²⁰⁹ and afterward kneeling and kissing or touching the floor with their foreheads.²¹⁰ In one respect these Mosques are to be commended. They have no images or pictures of Saints or God, make no effort to personify Deity.²¹¹

Visited the tombs of the Mamelukes,²¹² and on our way saw various forms of squaler, disease and deformity, all manner of importunate beggary.²¹³ It was truly pitiful to see a people thus grovelling in filth and utter wretchedness. We also visited the Bazars,²¹⁴

²⁰⁸All who enter a mosque, whether Muslim or not, must either remove their shoes or place slippers over their shoes. Adamec, *Historical Dictionary of Islam*, 186.

²⁰⁹Islamic adherents must perform a ritual ablution preceding prayer. This obligation entails a brief washing of the hands, face, and feet. Each mosque contains a tank of water for this purpose, except where water is unavailable, and then sand, earth, or unfashioned stone may serve the purpose. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 147; Glassé, *New Encyclopedia of Islam*, 20, 316.

²¹⁰When praying, required five times a day in the Islamic faith, adherents perform a cycle of ritual actions and recite sacred phrases, including prostrating themselves, touching the forehead to the ground with both palms on the ground, while reciting silently praises to Allah. Glassé, *New Encyclopedia of Islam*, 398.

²¹¹In general the making of images in Islam is prohibited, although the exceptions are complex and numerous. Nevertheless, the representation of the face of the Prophet is strictly forbidden, as is the setting of any image in a house of prayer. Glassé, *New Encyclopedia of Islam*, 212.

²¹²The Mamelukes were a class of slaves who converted to Islam and later rose to power as military leaders in two ruling dynasties. The first, the Bahri (1250-1382), consisted of Turks and Mongols, and the second, the Burji (1382-1517), consisted of Circassians. Civil unrest and military coups generally marked the rule of the Mamelukes, who lost power when the Ottomans defeated Egypt in 1517. The tombs of the Mamelukes were on the outskirts of Cairo at the time, their history obscure with no surviving inscriptions. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 104, 242-43, 327.

²¹³Mostly blind, beggars were numerous in Cairo at the time, usually invoking the name of Allah to solicit compassion. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 247.

²¹⁴A bazaar is an oriental market made up of rows of shops or stalls selling various goods. Located generally along dirty, narrow lanes, the bazaars of Cairo specialized in particular goods, such as spices, books, or carpets. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 251-58.

where all manner of fabrics are manufactured and sold. Here men were smoking, their long pipes drawing the smoke through water, and selling or rather offering their wares for sale.²¹⁵ The most painful feature met with in the streets are the hooded and veiled women.²¹⁶ It is sad to think of that one half of the human family should be thus cramped, kept in ignorance and degraded, having no existence except that of ministering to the pride and lusts of the men who *own* them as slaves are owned, and worst is they seem to like to have it so.²¹⁷

Sunday, 20 February [1887]

Attended and spoke a few words to the Sunday school of the U.P. Church mission.²¹⁸ It was good to see in Egypt about two hundred of these people assembled to

²¹⁵Shop owners in the bazaars often sat in front of their stores smoking their water-pipes, called nargilehs. Using moistened Persian tobacco, the smoker inhaled, drawing the smoke into the lungs. The water-pipes consisted of locally manufactured decorated stems and reservoirs and mouthpieces imported from Europe, mainly from Bohemia. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 24, 27.

²¹⁶Not confined to Muslim women, the wearing of a veil and covering the body are a matter of cultural dictates, and not a requirement of Islam. While the Koran directs women to practice modesty in public, interpretation of this edict varies. For some societies it dictates that a woman be covered from the neck to the wrists and ankles. For others it requires being veiled in public. Some, such as Bedouin women, do not wear veils at all. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 147; Glassé, *New Encyclopedia of Islam*, 468.

²¹⁷The treatment of women as chattel is of ancient Arab origin and is not confined to Islamic Arabs. Islam is a patriarchal religion, allowing a man to have up to four wives and to divorce easily. The role and status of women, however, varies in Islamic cultures as dictated by the customs of each, and in some Islamic societies, such as the Berbers, women enjoy more freedom. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 146-47; Glassé, *New Encyclopedia of Islam*, 476-77.

²¹⁸Established in 1854 by Thomas McCague, the United Presbyterian mission in Cairo was that denomination's second one in the Middle East, the first being in Syria. The mission in Cairo established a school for boys in 1855 and a school for girls in 1860. Also in 1860 the mission purchased its first boat, the *Ibis*, which the missionaries used to sail on the Nile, reaching remote villages to educate, proselytize, distribute literature, and practice medicine among the Egyptians. Always more stable financially than other missions in the Middle East, the Cairo mission attracted donations from foreign travelers, and one in particular. The Maharajah Dhulup Singh, a prince from the Punjab in India and a practicing Christian, could not return to his homeland for political reasons

received instruction from Mr and Mrs Harvey,²¹⁹ both Americans[.] Egypt that gave knowledge to western Europe two thousand years ago, was now sitting at the feet of the west, and receiving instruction from a part of the Western world then unknown! From the heights of her Cidatel we see the Libyan hills and the Cheop Pyramids.²²⁰ The view is very imposing.

Monday, 21 February [1887]

Went to the house of Dr Grant[.]²²¹ [S]aw his museum of Egyptian curiosities.

after being educated in England. Wanting to marry a non-European Christian woman, the Maharajah met a woman named Bamba at the mission's school for girls in Cairo. Thereafter the Maharajah made generous contributions annually to the mission. Andrew Watson, *The American Mission in Egypt, 1854 to 1896* (Pittsburgh, 1897), 65, 427-32; David Dawson, "Presbyterian Missionaries in the Middle East" (M.A. thesis, Yale University, 1987), 45-47, 57-61.

²¹⁹Reverend William Harvey (1835-1908) and his wife, Henrietta Lee Harvey (1840-1928), were the only two American missionaries in Cairo at the time. Born in Glasgow, Scotland, William immigrated to the United States in 1850. In 1862 he graduated from Westminster College in New Wilmington, Pennsylvania, and from Allegheny Seminary three years later, becoming an ordained United Presbyterian minister. The Harveys came to Cairo in 1865, after she graduated from Washington Seminary in Pennsylvania and taught black children in the South for a few years. Stationed at Medinet el-Faiyum from 1865 to 1878, the Harveys' missionary work was primarily in the area of education, and not proselytization. In April 1878 the Harveys moved their work to Cairo where they remained for the rest of their lives. William's duties in Cairo included leading two hours of classroom education every day in the mission school, performing pastoral work at the Cairo church, and preaching in English and Arabic. *New York Times*, 4 July 1888, 21 November 1908, 12 March 1928; Watson, *American Mission*, 187, 196, 263, 303, 320-21, 339, 368, 387, 425; William Melancthon Glasgow, *Cyclopedic Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* (Pittsburgh, 1903), 152, 607.

²²⁰Erected in 1166 A.D. with stones taken from the small pyramids at Gizeh and known for its spectacular view, the Citadel is a fortress built to defend Cairo and the site of several assassinations, rebellions, and coup attempts throughout the Mameluke rule. Among the structures within the Citadel is the Alabaster Mosque, completed in 1857. From a parapet on the southwest side of the mosque is a view of the Pyramids of Gizeh, the largest of which, at a height of 451 feet, is the Pyramid of Cheops or Khufu, who reigned from 2589 to 2566 B.C. The Pyramids of Gizeh border the edge of the Libyan Desert, a vast area with neither mountains nor valleys. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 62, 264, 344, 355; Rosalie David and Antony E. David, *A Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (Norman, Okla., 1992), 32-33; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:495.

²²¹Dr. J.S. Grant Bey was an English physician practicing medicine in Cairo at the time. From 1865 until his death in 1896, he was a leading supporter of the United Presbyterian mission at

Called on the daughters of Arch Bishop Whately²²² who have been here twenty five years teaching school: Excellent women doing excellent work.

Tuesday, 22 [February 1887]

In company with Mr and Mrs Shankland went to Gizeh²²³ and climbed to the top of Cheops, the highest Pyramid in the Valley of the Nile. Its height is four hundred and seventy feet.²²⁴ The ascent is both difficult and dangerous and I would not undertake it again for any consideration.

Cairo, regularly attending the English worship services. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 233; Watson, *American Mission*, 469.

²²²Elizabeth Jane Whately (1822-93) was the oldest child of Richard Whately, a professor of logic at Oxford before becoming the Anglican archbishop of Dublin in 1831, a post he filled until his death in 1863. After he died, Elizabeth published his biography and correspondence. She then joined her sister Mary (1824-89), who had been in Cairo doing missionary work since 1860, and established in 1878 a school, the Anglican Mission School, at Cairo for European children. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 234; E[lizabeth] Jane Whately, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D., Late Archbishop of Dublin*, 2 vols. (London, 1866), 1:45-46, 97-99; idem, *The Life and Work of Mary Louisa Whately* (London, [1890]), 9, 30; E[mma] R[aymond] Pitman, *Missionary Heroines in Eastern Lands: Woman's Work in Mission Fields* (New York, [189?]), 129-31, 138; Donald Harman Akenson, *A Protestant in Purgatory: Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin* (Hamden, Conn., 1981), 208-09; 220-21; *MEB*, 6:838.

²²³Located across the Nile from Cairo on a plateau measuring 1,600 by 1,300 yards, Gizeh consists of three immense pyramids, a sphinx, a temple of granite, several smaller pyramids, and numerous tombs. Three monarchs from the Fourth Dynasty who ruled in the twenty-sixth century B.C. built the Great Pyramids, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world: Khufu, or Cheops, who ruled from 2589 to 2566 B.C.; Khafra, or Chephren, who ruled from 2558 to 2532 B.C.; and Menkaura, or Mycerinus, who ruled from 2432 to 2504 B.C. Carved out of the natural rock, the Sphinx is a lion with the head of a man, and its name signifies to guard or watch. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 86, 342-44, 355-64; Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 45, 50, 56; David and David, *Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 32; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:1115.

²²⁴The height of the Pyramid of Cheops at the time was 451 feet and estimated to have been 482 feet with the stone coating that no longer covered the exterior. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 355; David and David, *Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 33.

Wednesday, 23 February [1887]

Called with Miss Conner on several Egyptian families in the morning and in the afternoon went to Hileopolis²²⁵ and saw the famous Ostrich farm,²²⁶ and the beautiful obolisque of red granite²²⁷ the only visible remains of the once great city of On.²²⁸

Thursday, 24 [February 1887]

Went the Musium in Cairo, the largest and best assemblage of Egyptian antiquities now extant.²²⁹ The Room of the Mummies is startling when we think we are looking at people who lived and moved in this Valley three thousand years ago.²³⁰ In the Evening we took supper with Mr. & Mrs Harvey Missionaries. After ward prayer meeting

²²⁵Located on the northeastern outskirts of Cairo, Heliopolis, or city of the sun, was the traditional center for the worship of the god Ra. Heliopolis was the capital of northern Egypt during the New Empire (1570-1070 B.C.). Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 333; Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, 99; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1262.

²²⁶Near Heliopolis was an ostrich farm operated by some Frenchmen. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 335.

²²⁷The sixty-six foot high red granite obelisk at Heliopolis is one of the oldest surviving obelisks, dating to the twentieth century B.C. Its four sides bear hieroglyphic inscriptions to the glory of the Egyptian ruler who erected the obelisk, Usertesen I, or Senusret I, of the Middle Monarchy. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 87, 334-35; Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, 81.

²²⁸On is the Hebrew name in the Bible for Heliopolis. In Genesis, Pharaoh gives Joseph a wife named Asenath, who is the daughter of Potipherah, the priest of On. She bears two of Joseph's sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. Gen. 41:45, 46:20; Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 333; Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, 10.

²²⁹Unique for having labels stating where each item was found, the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities is the most extensive collection of its kind. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 295.

²³⁰The Salle des Mommies Royales contains a collection of funerary items found at Dêr el-Bahri in 1881, including several coffins and mummies from the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, dating back as far as the sixteenth century B.C. One mummy of a priestly scribe is in such a good state of preservation that the eyelashes are visible. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 313; Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, 103.

Friday, 25 February [1887]

Wrote during the fore noon[.] [S]ent one letter to Mrs Crofts²³¹ and one to

²³¹When Douglass lectured at Newcastle-on-Tyne during his first trip to Great Britain in 1845, he attracted the attention of Julia Griffiths (1812-95) and her sister, Eliza, who were active in the British antislavery movement. Griffiths followed Douglass to the United States after he returned in 1847, relocating to Rochester with her sister in May 1849. In 1850 Eliza married John Dick, one of Douglass's co-editors on the *North Star*, and the couple moved to Toronto. A zealous and aggressive fundraiser, Griffiths acted as business manager of the publication, saving it from financial ruin, and taught Douglass important editing skills. Her activities to raise money for the newspaper included soliciting donations, organizing the Rochester Anti-Slavery Fair, and donating the proceeds from the sale of a book she edited, *Autographs of Freedom*, containing essays written by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Horace Greeley, and others. Initially she lived with the Douglass family, causing marital discord and unsubstantiated rumors that Douglass and Griffiths shared more than a professional relationship. In 1853 vicious attacks appearing in other newspapers drove Griffiths from the Douglass home and finally forced her to return to England in 1855, where she continued to raise funds for Douglass's newspaper. Remaining a lifelong correspondent with Douglass, she married Henry O. Crofts, a Methodist minister from Halifax, in 1859. During the Civil War, she organized and revitalized ladies auxiliaries and traveled as an antislavery lecturer. No record remains of the letter Douglass wrote on this date to her. *Lib.*, 18 November, 2 December 1853; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 163-66, 170-71, 182, 203; Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines*, 179-84; Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (New York, 1992), 125-26, 141; Karen Halbersleben, *Women's Participation in the British Antislavery Movement, 1824-1865* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1993), 106-07, 140, 174, 190-95; Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, *They Who Would Be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830-61* (Urbana, Ill., 1990), 89; Erwin Palmer, "A Partnership in the Abolition Movement," *University of Rochester Library Bulletin*, 26:1-17 (Autumn/Winter 1970-71).

Rosetta.²³² In the afternoon went to see the Howling Dervishers²³³ at worship, the Coptic Church²³⁴ and the Jewish Scynagogue,²³⁵ and then took a ride on the Shubra Road.²³⁶

There was much to remind in the worship of the Howling Dervishers of the Colored

²³²Born in New Bedford, Massachusetts, Rosetta Douglass Sprague (1839-1906) was the oldest child of Frederick and Anna Murray Douglass. Until the public schools of Rochester integrated in 1850, Rosetta studied with private tutors, first with Abigail and Lydia Mott in Albany, New York, and then with Phebe Thayer, a Quaker, in Rochester. After attending Oberlin College, Rosetta taught school in Philadelphia and later in Salem, New Jersey. In 1863 she married Nathan Sprague, and the couple lived with the Douglasses until they purchased their own house in Rochester in 1867. Finding it difficult to establish himself in the real estate business, Sprague moved his family in 1877 to Washington, D.C., where Douglass had to support Rosetta's growing family while Sprague struggled with his career. At least two of the Spragues' children, daughters Annie and Hattie, lived with the Douglasses for a period of time. Rosetta was also the most vocal of the Douglass children in her disapproval of his marriage to Helen Pitts after Anna's death. While a note indicates that Douglass wrote a letter to Rosetta from Cairo, the letter itself, if extant, and the copy of the letter purportedly with the note, are missing. Note from Rosetta Douglass Sprague, undated, Addition, 1851-1964 and Undated File, reel 34, frame 22, FD Papers, DLC; 1880 U.S. Census, Washington, District of Columbia, 143; Gregory, *Frederick Douglass*, 201-02; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 81, 218-23, 256, 287, 297, 319.

²³³Dervishes are a mystic sect of Islam whose adherents attempt to achieve an altered state of mind to understand Allah better. One portion of the sect, known as the howling or shouting dervishes, attempt to attain an altered state of mind by repeatedly shouting the creed of Islam until reaching a frenzied state, sometimes resulting in epileptic-like convulsions that include foaming at the mouth. A source of curiosity for tourists, the howling dervishes at the time performed their rituals for the public on Fridays from 2:00 to 3:00 P.M. at the Gâmi' Kasr el-'Ain, a mosque attached to a hospital of the same name. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 150-52, 239, 317.

²³⁴Located in Old Cairo, the Coptic Church of St. Mary is the site where, according to tradition, Mary and Jesus hid for a month after their flight to Egypt. Coptic Christians, members of an ancient Egyptian sect, rejected the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. At first treated with tolerance by the Arabs who invaded Egypt, the Copts later encountered persecution by both Muslims and western Christianity. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 42-44, 320.

²³⁵Formerly a church of St. Michael, the synagogue in Old Cairo reputedly possesses a scroll of the torah written by Ezra. It is also the site where Elijah once appeared, and where Moses prayed for an end of the plague of thunder and hail as told in Exodus 9:29. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 323-24.

²³⁶Located just over two miles north of Cairo, the fashionable Shubra Avenue was the popular place at the time for the prominent members of society to take a ride, most often on Friday and Sunday evenings. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 330-31.

Methodist Campmeeting, in the South.²³⁷ There were many spectators present, and the worshippers got a good bit of money by their queer performance,²³⁸ which by the did not seem insincere. They evidently thought their worship well pleasing to their God. One man spun around like a top forty or fifty times without stopping.²³⁹ I thought he would certainly fall to the floor, but he did not but after resting a few minutes proceeded with his whirling till the close of the meeting. Another man worked himself up to a perfect frenzy, jumping up & down and at last fell to the floor rigid as one dead.²⁴⁰ During all the worship their beating on large Tamboreens, blowing on a reed instrument, a kind of chant, and momentary interjections of recitations from the Koran.²⁴¹ The whole performance was sad

²³⁷Usually led by Methodist or Baptist ministers, religious camp meetings, or revivals, often produced various emotional reactions from worshippers. Reactions ranged from shouting, fainting, seeing visions, dancing, jerking, and barking. Often held separately, the camp meetings in the South for blacks often manifested more extreme activity, such as convulsive physical exercises similar to seizures. Charles A. Johnson, *The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time* (1955; Dallas, 1985), 58-62, 112-15; Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *And They Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845* (Knoxville, 1974), 73-75, 86, 89.

²³⁸Custom dictated that tourists who watched the activities of the dervishes pay baksheesh for the performance. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 239.

²³⁹Adherents of another sect of dervishes, called the dancing or whirling dervishes, attempt to accomplish an altered state of mind by twirling rapidly in a circle with outstretched arms and closed eyes. Accompanied by a flute and tambourine, a singer recites a hymn, while the dervishes move silently in a circle, twirling on their left foot and propelling themselves with the right foot. As the tempo of the song picks up, the dervishes twirl at an accelerated pace. The dervishes stop twirling when the music and chanting stop. At the time the dancing dervishes performed their rituals for the public at the Gâmi' ibn Tulûn, the oldest mosque in Cairo, on Fridays from 2:00 to 3:00 P.M., the same time as the public performance of the howling dervishes. Tourists could attend both performances on the same day by leaving one after twenty-five minutes and attending the other for the last part of the performance. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 150-52, 239, 265.

²⁴⁰Some howling or shouting dervishes fall into convulsions and foam at the mouth, similar to an epileptic seizure. Described as painful and unpleasing to watch, they are left alone to recover on their own. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 152, 238.

²⁴¹The holy book of writings accepted by Muslims as revealed to Muhammad by Allah through the angel Gabriel.

to behold, sad to think that rational being could be made to believe that such physical contortions could be pleasing to God or secure his favour. Yet how much better is the form of worship adopted by many other denominations, and is it not strange that men should imagine to secure Divine favor by telling God how good & great he is, and how much they love and adore him. God is glorified not by such worship, but by a spirit of obedience to the laws of our being, as established by the Almighty and written in the very constitution of things. Burnt offerings incantations and muscular action, silence reason and degrade manhood.

Saturday, 26 February [1887]

Went this morning to Mohameden College²⁴² where twelve thousand pupils studying the Coron and preparing to teache its doctrines to the benighted sons of men. I saw about two thousand of them in the court and college building reading their morning lesson. They wore the peculiar dress and Turban of the Mahomedan and presented a striking spectacle.²⁴³ If sincerity is any proof of the truth of their creed, they certainly give that proof—but alas! Sincerity is no proof. The most revolting imposture has been defended by equal earnestness and sincerity. The followers of the prophet can pray as loudly and point to as many miracles as the Christian can, they even exceed the Christian in

²⁴²Originally built as a mosque and converted to a university in 975 A.D., the University of el-Azhar provided religious education at the time to 7,700 students from almost all the Islamic countries of the world. Most students began their three-year education with a study of Arabic grammar, followed by a study of the religious commandments of Islam and of secular law as derived from the Koran. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 288-89; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:495.

²⁴³Traditionally Islamic clergy and scholars wear a light colored turban, as opposed to the dark colors worn by non-Muslims. Used for an adherent's shroud and therefore a reminder of death, the turban is generally seven times the length of the person's head, or the equivalent of his height. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 246.

religious attention to ceremony. We also went to see the Mohamden *Bible* house,²⁴⁴ where you may see the Coran in all languages. It is a great sight. Two hundred millions of people are said to receive this Sacred Book, the Coran.

Sunday, 27 February [1887]

Attended a Presbyterian Service conducted in Arabec in the morning, did some promenading in the afternoon[.] Wrote to Charley²⁴⁵ and went to see a great tree called the Banian Tree.²⁴⁶ The peculiarity of this tree is that its branches extend to the ground, take root and spread indefinitely.

Monday, 28 February [1887]

We rode away over a delightful Road on Donkeys the Ghezireh Palace, and gardens, and grotto.²⁴⁷ It well repaid the trouble. Though for my part the ride on Donkeys among multitudes of people in oriental costume and crowds of camils and Donkeys making a striking of Egyptian life was more interesting than Palace garden or grotto.

Tuesday, 1 March 1887

This has been one of the most interesting days we have spent in Egypt. This morning we set out at half past seven on a journey of sixteen miles, three to the Railway

²⁴⁴Founded by the Khedive Ismâ'îl on 24 March 1870, the Library contains, among other volumes, copies of the Koran collected from various Cairo mosques. The oldest of these dates to the rule of the Bahrite Mamelukes (1260-1382), while other copies are remarkable for their beauty or size. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 269-71.

²⁴⁵No record exists of the letter Douglass wrote to his son Charles on 27 February 1887.

²⁴⁶The banian, or banyan, tree is an East Indian tree, the branches of which send out several trunks that grow down to the ground, forming props so that one tree covers a large area.

²⁴⁷Situated on the Nile and completed in 1868, the Palace of Gezireh is the site where distinguished guests stayed at the opening ceremonies for the Suez Canal in 1869. Situated in a park-like setting, Gezireh also contains a kiosk, a harem building, greenhouses, and a grotto. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 328-30.

Station, for Bedrachien²⁴⁸ and thence six miles on the backs of Donkeys to the site of ancient Memphis²⁴⁹ and the Necropolis of Sakkara.²⁵⁰ The Donkey ride was a hard one, but the results were very satisfactory. We first came to the site of Memphis and there we saw a piece of sculpture which suppose has no equal in the world, a statue of Ramses forty two feet in height,²⁵¹ and here there fragments of broken architecture and sculpture. But the chief place of interest was several miles away. It was the Necropolis of Sakkara with its pyramids and tombs. The tombs are truly architectural wonders.

Wednesday, 2 March [1887]

Went to witness parade & sham battle by British troops stationed in Cairo[.]²⁵² The

²⁴⁸On the Linge de la Haute-Egypte, the railway station of Bûlâk ed-Dakrûr was at the time three miles from Cairo on the left bank of the Nile. The train ran from this station to Bedrashên, the stopping point to ride donkeys to Memphis. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 371.

²⁴⁹Menes, the first king of a united Egypt, reputedly founded Memphis at the apex of the Nile delta, making it his capital and building a temple to Ptah, the greatest of all the Egyptian gods and the patron god of Memphis. Subsequent rulers of the Old Kingdom kept the capital at Memphis and built palaces, temples, and other great structures there. Memphis remained the foremost of Egyptian cities from 3100 B.C. to 2258 B.C. when the pharaohs of the New Empire moved the capital to Thebes. Almost all the structures at Memphis were eventually lost when later rulers reused the stones for different purposes. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 371-74; David and David, *Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 86; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1948.

²⁵⁰Near Memphis, the Necropolis of Sakkâra was the burial place of choice by the pharaohs of the Old Kingdom. The sepulchral structures range from pyramids to rock-hewn caves. The pyramids, numbering eleven, include the Step Pyramid, which is unique because it is not square with the points of a compass. The tombs include two kinds: the Mastaba, a mausoleum built on the ground with inwardly sloping walls and a flat roof; and the Rock Tombs, excavated from the slopes of the plateau in long rows and much more simple than a Mastaba. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 378-83; Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, 33-34; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1948.

²⁵¹Discovered in 1820, the Colossal Statue of Ramses II lay on its face in a hollow near the ruins of Memphis. Made from fine-grained limestone, the statue was forty-two feet tall before it toppled. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 374-75.

²⁵²In September 1881, a military revolt broke out in Cairo, aiming to reduce foreign influence over the internal affairs of Egypt and challenging the rule of the khedive. To protect the welfare of Europeans living in Egypt, France and England sent fleets to Alexandria. After the

people of Cairo were not attracted to see the fine show. They are evidently not over pleased with the presence and power of British Soldiers, though in truth, they are probably much better off with them than they would be without them.

Thursday, 3 March [1887]

Went to look at Dahabiyeh²⁵³ in company with Miss Agg, and Miss Richardson. We are to go with them in it on an Eight days trip up the Nile. In the afternoon walked with Helen through Bazar.

[Friday,] 11 March [1887]

Have just returned from a five days trip up the Nile as far as Beni Hassen.²⁵⁴ While there were few points of special interest reached during the trip, the excursion upon the whole owing to the general character and history of the country the peculiar character of the people met with along the shores of the great river, the strange appearance of the towns, the varied scene presented by the barren and desolate sand mountains, assuming all sorts of shapes sometimes resembling vast fortifications and at other reminding us of enormous animals, was one of the interesting and delightful made during my tour abroad.

deaths of many Europeans in June 1882, the British sent in an occupational force to quell the unrest and to secure the authority of the khedive. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 108-10.

²⁵³ A broad, shallow-draft boat with a sharp bow and sails used for transporting passengers on the Nile.

²⁵⁴ Beni Hasan, or Bani Hasan, is a village on the east bank of the Nile River in east central Egypt, the location of thirty-nine tombs carved out of solid rock during the twelfth dynasty. Ornamented with hieroglyphics and colored figures, the grottoes imitate temples in their outward appearance. John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt, Part II*, 6th ed. (London, 1880), 408-10; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:254.

It is not strange that people of Egypt almost deify the Nile.²⁵⁵ Without it there country would become a barren waste. The Nile feeds clothes and shelters them, from it they get water to drink, water to bath, to wash their cloths, from it they get their fish, the mud to build their houses, & the fertilizer to repair the waste of the soil in production. It is to them the source of life and whatever of health and prosperity for which its people have to be thankful. It is great highway over which their products find their way to market, and its bosom night and day is covered with curiously rigged vessels, with wing shaped sails going to and from Cairo. Our trip was made upon a Dahhabezez,²⁵⁶ christened by Miss Richardson and Miss Agg as the Meni.²⁵⁷

Monday, 14 March [1887]

Arrived at Alexandria[.]²⁵⁸ Stopt Hotel Bonnard.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵The mysteries of the sources of the Nile and the reason for its annual flooding led the Egyptians to regard the Nile River as a deity. In fact the river is a confluence of the White and Blue Nile rivers. Beginning in mid-July the river floods when torrential spring rains fall in the Abyssinian mountains, swelling the Blue Nile. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 55.

²⁵⁶Dahabiyeh.

²⁵⁷Meni, a variation of Menes, is the first king of a unified Upper and Lower Egypt. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 86; David and David, *Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 86.

²⁵⁸Founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., Alexandria was the capital under the Ptolemies. Located on the Mediterranean Sea at the western edge of the Nile River Delta, Alexandria was a center for culture and learning with its extensive libraries that attracted Hellenistic and Jewish scholars. After falling to the Romans in 30 B.C. and later under the Byzantines, Alexandria continued to be a center of Christian learning until captured by the Muslim Arabs in 642 A.D. Alexandria again rose to importance in 1819 when Muhammad Ali developed it as a deepwater port, attracting many foreign residents. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 207-09; Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, 206, 209, 212, 217; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:64.

²⁵⁹The Hôtel Bonnard was a second-class, moderately priced hotel at Rue Champolion 7 in Alexandria. Karl Baedeker, *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers; Part First, Lower Egypt and the Peninsula of Sinai*, 3rd ed. (London, 1895), 5.

Tuesday, 15 March [1887]

Called upon Mr Ewing Missionary²⁶⁰ also upon Judge J.B. Kinsman,²⁶¹ took a pleasant ride with him in company with Judge Brinkhouse[.]²⁶² [A]fterward lunched with

²⁶⁰Born in Irwin, Pennsylvania, the Reverend Samuel Currie Ewing (1831-1908) graduated in 1856 from Jefferson College in Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania. He attended Allegheny Seminary, being ordained into the United Presbyterian Church in 1859. In 1860 Ewing and his wife went to Egypt as missionaries in Cairo. Encountering a cholera epidemic in 1865, the Ewings visited the sick and helped bury the dead until she became ill, forcing her to return to the United States in 1866. In February of the following year he went to England to raise money for the mission, and then traveled to the United States, returning to Cairo with his wife in October 1867. In 1872 Ewing moved his ministry from Cairo to Alexandria. He was one of the few foreigners who did not evacuate Alexandria during the massacre of 1882. Glasgow, *Cyclopedic Manual*, 110, 606; Watson, *American Mission*, 183-84, 190, 196, 261, 263, 280, 303, 339, 348, 367, 387.

²⁶¹President Grover Cleveland appointed J.B. Kinsman of Massachusetts and Maine as judge of the court of first instance in Alexandria in 1885, a position he held until 1889. As a result of negotiations among certain western powers and the Ottoman and Egyptian governments, Egypt had since 1876 an intricate and blended court system for resolving either criminal charges or civil disputes that involved foreigners. A system of native courts with Egyptian judges was the venue for resolving disputes between Egyptians and for trying Egyptians charged with crimes involving Egyptian victims. Consular courts, on the other hand, were for resolving civil disputes between foreigners of the same nationality. Mixed tribunals of foreign and native judges heard disputes between individuals from two different countries and for criminal matters involving a foreign defendant or victim. Essentially following the Napoleonic Code, these five-member tribunals consisted of three foreigners and two natives, appointed by various countries. There were several courts of first instance, or tribunals of original jurisdiction, and one court of appeals at Alexandria. J.B. Kinsman served as judge of the Alexandria trial court until E.E. Farman of Warsaw, New York, replaced him in 1889. *New York Times*, 4 July 1888, 6 April 1889; U.S. Department of State, *Registration . . . 1887*, 38; idem, *Registration of the Department of State, Corrected to March 10, 1892* (Washington, D.C., 1892), 39; Watson, *American Mission*, 463-64.

²⁶²Judge Brinkhouse was not one of the judges of the international court from the United States at the time. The other U.S. judges were Anthony M. Keiley of Virginia, appointed in 1886 to the court of first instance in Cairo, and Victor C. Barringer of North Carolina, appointed to the court of appeals in Alexandria in 1874. U.S. Department of State, *Registration . . . 1887*, 38.

them. Saw Pompeys Pillar,²⁶³ and the site of the Alexandrian Library[.]²⁶⁴

Wednesday, 16 March [1887]

Took passage on Board the Egyptian Steamer Sanchie for Athens.²⁶⁵ The weather beautiful, the passengers pleasant and we hope for a prosperous voyage. The thought of soon treading the classic shores of Greece is very exhilarating.

²⁶³Pompey's Column, composed of red granite, stands 104 feet high and honors Diocletian after the emperor defended the city of Alexandria. The column consists of a pedestal, a shaft, and a Corinthian capital, perhaps surmounted at one time by the statue of a man, as shown in an ancient illustrated plan of Alexandria. The column derives its name from the Roman prefect Pompeius, who erected it, and not after Pompey the Great, the one murdered at Alexandria after being defeated by Caesar at the Battle of Pharsalia. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 97, 218-19.

²⁶⁴Organized by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the library at Alexandria began with the library of Aristotle as its core. When Caesar burned the library in 31 B.C. when he captured Alexandria, the library contained an estimated 900,000 volumes, allowing scholars a wealth of accessible material for research. Baedeker, *Lower Egypt*, 2nd ed., 98, 211.

²⁶⁵Athens, the capital of Greece, was a city-state that became a democracy in the sixth century B.C., first giving power to propertied classes and then to all freemen of Athens. In the fifth century B.C. Athens reached its zenith, gaining power mainly with naval forces in the Persian Wars (500-449 B.C.) and eclipsing Sparta as the most powerful Greek city-state. During the rule of Pericles from 443 to 429 B.C., Athens became an intellectual and cultural center with eminent philosophers, dramatists, and architects. Thereafter the Peloponnesian War with Sparta reduced the influence of Athens. Athens recovered some of its glory in the fourth century B.C. until Macedonian forces defeated the Athenians in 338 B.C. As Athenian power waned, its glory of the past shaped other civilizations, including the Romans who sacked Athens in 86 B.C. After the Visigoths captured Athens from the Romans in 395 A.D., Athens became part of the Byzantine Empire. In the thirteenth century Athens was part of the French feudal system. The House of Aragon and later a Florentine noble ruled Athens in the fourteenth century. The Ottoman Turks captured Athens in 1458 and essentially ruled it for the next four centuries. Athens became the capital of the newly created country of Greece in 1834. Karl Baedeker, *Greece: Handbook for Travellers* (London, 1889), 36-44; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:86-87.

Saturday, 19 March [1887]

Have now been Athens a part of two days. Spent the first afternoon at the Acropolis,²⁶⁶ saw the city from its heights, saw the great Parthenon,²⁶⁷ theatre of Dionysus, its reputed to hold thirty thousand,²⁶⁸ the Adlium said to have held six thousand,²⁶⁹ the

²⁶⁶Greek for high city, the Acropolis is the original city of Athens, a fortified citadel rising two hundred feet above the plains of Attica. The base of the Acropolis measures one thousand feet by four hundred feet, and its walls slope inward so that the plateau is roughly three-quarters the size of the base. By around 1400 B.C. the Acropolis had walls for fortification and contained several significant buildings. After the Persians destroyed the ancient temples on the Acropolis in 480 and 479 B.C., Pericles began building new ones, which include three temples of worship (the Parthenon, the Temple of Athena Nike, and the Erechtheion) and one secular structure (the Propylaea). A modern museum, opened in 1878, also occupies the site. Baedeker, *Greece*, 55-57, 60, 64, 71, 76; Christopher Wordsworth, *Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical* (London, 1882), 200; Richard Ridley Farrer, *A Tour in Greece, 1880* (London, 1882), 32-33; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:14.

²⁶⁷Built by Pericles from 447 to 432 B.C., the Parthenon on the Acropolis is the crowning achievement of Hellenistic architecture. Dedicated to Athena Parthenos, the Virgin Athena, the Parthenon is a Doric temple that housed the enormous gold and ivory statue of Athena. The pediments at each end contained sculptured scenes with the birth of Athena at the eastern end and the contest between Athena and Poseidon for possession of Athens at the western end. Lord Elgin removed much of the eastern sculptures in 1806 for display in the British Museum. A sculptured frieze on the upper part of the wall and above the porticoes forms a continuous band depicting the Panathenaic procession held every four years in honor of Athena. In the sixth century the temple became a Christian place of worship and later an Islamic mosque. In 1687 the Turks used the Parthenon as a powder magazine, and a Venetian attack caused an explosion that destroyed significant portions of the Parthenon. When the Turks lost control of Athens in 1830, archaeological study and restoration commenced. Baedeker, *Greece*, 65-71; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 60-66; Farrer, *Tour in Greece*, 36-38; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2373.

²⁶⁸Dedicated to the Greek god of wine, the Theatre of Dionysus stands at the foot of the Acropolis and could seat thirty thousand spectators. Built around 340 B.C. and altered frequently thereafter, the theater contains the three traditional parts of ancient Greek theaters: the stage, where the actors performed; the orchestra, where the chorus offered general reflections and the location of the altar of Dionysus; and the semi-circular auditorium, partially carved from the side of a hill, for the spectators. The theater is the site of the first performances of plays written by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes. Baedeker, *Greece*, 50-51; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 220-23; Farrer, *Tour in Greece*, 42-43.

²⁶⁹Intended for dramatic performances and not for musical entertainment like most odeia, the Odeon or Odeum of Herodes Atticus is a theater at the base of the Acropolis that at one time had a roof. Built by a wealthy Roman in the second century A.D. as a memorial to his wife, the theater accommodated six thousand people and was the same pattern as the Theatre of Dionysus. A 532

Erechtheum,²⁷⁰ the Propylaea.²⁷¹ There was point out to us from the Acropolis the place of the imprison of Socratees.²⁷² On our way we passed the Temple of Jupiter, of which there is now Standing only 15 Corinthian Pillars, looking beautiful even in their ruin.²⁷³

foot-long colonnade, called the Stoa Eumenia, connects the two theaters. Baedeker, *Greece*, 53-54; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 224; Farrer, *Tour in Greece*, 42.

²⁷⁰Built in a slight depression on the north side of the Acropolis, the Erechtheion contained shrines of Athena Polias, or Athena the guardian of the city. As the traditional site where Athena and Poseidon contended for possession of Athens, the Erechtheion is an Ionic temple begun after the Persians destroyed its predecessor in 480 B.C. and completed in 407 B.C. The southern portico of the temple contains the well-known Caryatids, the six statues of young maidens used in lieu of columns to support the roof. Altered over the centuries, the interior of the temple served various purposes, including a Christian place of worship and later a harem for a Turkish pasha. Baedeker, *Greece*, 71-74; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 207-09; Farrer, *Tour in Greece*, 38-40.

²⁷¹The Propylaea, designed by Mnesikles, is the only secular ancient structure on the Acropolis. Begun in 437 B.C. and worked on for five years, the Propylaea is a gateway on the west and the main entrance to the Acropolis. The structure combines the Doric and Ionic orders, with Doric on the east and west facades and Ionic columns lining an arcade between them. Asymmetrical wings flank the north and south ends of the main portion of the Propylaea. Baedeker, *Greece*, 57-59; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 200-202; Farrer, *Tour in Greece*, 34-36.

²⁷²Located on the southwestern outskirts of Athens, the Hill of Philóppos contains three doorways hewn from the rock on the side of the mountain, the alleged Prison of Socrates, the Athenian philosopher sentenced to die for his criticism of Athenian society in the fifth century B.C. Consisting of three chambers carved out of the rock, the center chamber remains unfinished. The chamber on the left, measuring 12 feet by 7 ½ feet, has a flat ceiling and its floor bears the marks of a sarcophagus. The chamber on the right, of equal size, has a sloped ceiling. Baedeker, *Greece*, 89-90.

²⁷³Begun by the Greek tyrant Peisistratos around 530 B.C. but not completed until around 130 A.D. by the Roman emperor Hadrian, the Olympieon, or the Temple of the Olympian Zeus, is the second largest Greek temple ever constructed, only surpassed by Temple of Diana at Ephesus. Measuring 353 ½ feet in length by 134 feet in width, the temple had 100 massive Corinthian columns 56 ½ feet high and 5 ½ in diameter to support it. Dedicated to the worship of the supreme Greek god Zeus, or Jupiter in the Roman pantheon, and to Hadrian, the founder of the feast connected with the temple, only seventeen columns remained standing by 1760, when a Turkish viceroy removed one for a mosque he was building. With one of the columns falling over in a severe storm in 1852, only fifteen of the Corinthian columns remain. Baedeker, *Greece*, 46-47; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 224-25; Farrer, *Tour in Greece*, 30-31; Oswalt, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, 302.

Saturday, [19] March [1887]

We have been treated to day to one of the finest views we ever got of any country in the same length of time. We ascended by a zigzag path to the top of Lycabettus 919 feet above the level of the sea.²⁷⁴ I could look down upon the famous city and its surroundings, and note there chief features of interest from the school of Plato²⁷⁵ to the waters Salamis.²⁷⁶ It was a scene never to be forgotten. The Plains of Attica²⁷⁷ were spread out at our feet, over the mountain, we could almost see the fields of Marathon,²⁷⁸ off toward the sea we

²⁷⁴Mount Lykabettos or Lycabettus is a 911-foot hill on the northeastern end of Athens, a legendary gift from Athena, placed there to serve as a bulwark for that side of the city. Crowned by the Chapel of St. George at its summit, Lykabettos offers a panoramic view of the area, including Athens and the Acropolis, the surrounding Plains of Attica, the city of Piraeus, the islands of Aegina and Salamis, and the Bay of Eleusis. Baedeker, *Greece*, 101-02; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 180, 199, 211.

²⁷⁵Located east of Athens, the Academy is a large plot of land named after an early owner, Akademos, and dedicated to Athena. First used as a gymnasium and later adorned with trees and fountains, the olive groves of the Academy were a popular resort for Plato and other teachers. The term later came to designate places of higher learning. Baedeker, *Greece*, 103; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 102.

²⁷⁶Salamis is an island in the Saronic Gulf west of Athens across from the port city Piraeus. It was off the coast of Salamis that the Greeks won a key battle against the Persians in 480 B.C. that assured Athenian independence. Baedeker, *Greece*, 108; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 139-42; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2720.

²⁷⁷The peninsula of Attica is at the eastern end of central Greece around Athens. The area contains the plains of Athens, the mountain groups of Pentelikon and Hymettos, and the towns of Piraeus and Eleusis. Theseus was the legendary ruler who combined several townships into one state in Mycenaean times. Baedeker, *Greece*, 104; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 131-33; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:192.

²⁷⁸The Plain of Marathon, located about twenty miles from Athens, is the site of a battle between the Greeks and the Persians in 490 B.C. in which ten thousand Greek soldiers were said to defeat a Persian army ten times their size. Marathon also gives its name to the 26 1/5-mile race to commemorate the run of a soldier to Athens to deliver the news of victory and then dying from exhaustion. Baedeker, *Greece*, 120-21; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 168-70; Farrer, *Tour in Greece*, 69; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1882.

could see dimly the mountains of Sparta.²⁷⁹ In the city of Athens, solemn and grand with its many pillars, stood out the form of the Temple of Thesious²⁸⁰ one of the most perfect and striking of all the fallen architectural ruins left to tell us the wealth pride ambition and power of the ancient people of this famous city.

Thursday, 24 March [1887]

Tomorrow, we shall leave this classic city for Italy. Stopping again for a brief period at Naples, and thence to Rome. To day I took my last look at the Acropolis, and

²⁷⁹Located on the Peloponnesus in the southeastern mainland of Greece, Sparta is a city-state known for its strong armies from the eighth century B.C. Given wholly to developing its war and defense capacities, Sparta became the strongest Greek city-state by the sixth century B.C. and the leader of a confederacy of Peloponnesian city-states. After fighting alongside the Athenians in the Persian Wars, the rivalry between Athens and Sparta intensified, leading to the Peloponnesian War from 431 to 404 B.C. After dismembering the Athenian empire, Sparta engaged in wars with Persia and again with Athens and its ally, Thebes. Suffering defeat in 371 B.C., Sparta declined, later being defeated by Macedonia and then by Rome. Baedeker, *Greece*, 270-72; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 256-57; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2997-98.

²⁸⁰Though not the most magnificent or the most elaborate of the ancient Greek temples, the Temple of Hephaistos, also known as the Thesion, in the Agora of Athens is the best preserved and one of the most impressive due to its completeness. Dedicated to Hephaistos, the god of fire, and Athena, whose bronze statues stood in the center, the temple contains reliefs depicting the labors of Hercules and the achievements of Theseus, the legendary king of Athens who slew the Minotaur in his youth. The temple owes its state of preservation in large part to the fact that early Christians converted it to a church and maintained it. Baedeker, *Greece*, 81-84; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 50-55; Farrer, *Tour in Greece*, 43-44; Oswalt, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, 129-30, 281-83.

stood for the first time on Areopogus,²⁸¹ and heard read Pauls famous address to the Athenians 18 hundred years ago.²⁸² I tried to imagine the State of mind incited[.]

Monday, 28 March [1887]

A rough voyage of three days and nights brought safely to Naples where we now are. Here we have received tidings of the serious illness of Mrs Gidion Pitts, my wife's Mother,²⁸³ which may lead my wife to give up the remaining part of her European Tour. She to day Telegraphed her sister²⁸⁴ the enquiry "Shall I come?["]

²⁸¹The Areopagus or Areopagos is a hill northwest of the Acropolis and the name of the ancient court, consisting of important Athenians, sitting in judgment over matters of life and death that met on the hill. Tradition provides that the name derives from Ares, the first defendant on trial there for the death of Halirrhottus, the son of Poseidon, after Halirrhottus allegedly violated the daughter of Ares. The Areopagus was also the traditional cite where the ancient court acquitted Orestes for the murder of his mother, Clytemnestra, after she had her husband, Agamemnon, killed. Baedeker, *Greece*, 54-55; Wordsworth, *Greece*, 217-18; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:150; Oswalt, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, 122, 216.

²⁸²The Areopagus, also known as Mars Hill, is the place where the apostle Paul addressed the Athenians in 54 A.D. Acts 17:15-34; Baedeker, *Greece*, 54-55; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:150.

²⁸³Gideon Pitts (1807-?) and Jane Wells Pitts (1814-92) were the parents of Helen Pitts Douglass. Both a feminist and an abolitionist, Gideon was a descendent of Captain Peter Pitts, the first settler in Richmond Township, Ontario County, New York. Gideon befriended Douglass in 1846 when the latter gave an address in Richmond. Douglass was a guest at the home of the Pitts in Honeoye, and their friendship continued after Douglass moved his family to Rochester. After Douglass married Helen, Gideon refused to allow Douglass into his home and would only visit the District of Columbia when he knew the Douglasses were out of town. Although she was seriously ill at the time, Jane Wells Pitts recovered. She later came to live with the Douglasses at Cedar Hill where Helen cared for her until her mother's death. *New York Times*, 28 January 1884; 1870 U.S. Census, New York, Ontario County, 378; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 320, 364; Quarles, *Frederick Douglass*, 298; Nelson, "Best of Intentions," 41.

²⁸⁴Known as Jennie, Jane Wells Pitts (1839-94) was the second daughter of Gideon and Jane Wells Pitts. Jennie graduated from Mount Holyoke in 1859, the same year as her sister Helen. From 1863 to 1864 she taught school in Davenport, Iowa, before returning to her parents' home in Honeoye, New York. She remained loyal to Helen after Helen's marriage to Douglass. Jennie died at Anacostia. Helen Pitts Douglass to Jennie, 25 April 1887, Douglass to Helen Pitts Douglass, 28 June 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 490, 553, FD Papers, DLC; 1870 U.S. Census, New York, Ontario County, 378; Mount Holyoke College Alumnae Association, *One Hundred Year Biographical Directory of Mount Holyoke College, 1837-1937* (South Hadley,

Tuesday, 29 March [1887]

We are awaiting the answer with much anxiety.

Wednesday, 30 [March 1887]

The answer has come and the news is favorable.

Thursday, 31 [March 1887]

Visit Pagani²⁸⁵ a town about twenty miles from Naples, and spend the day with Mr and Mrs Taccillo,²⁸⁶ at their Villa situated on the mountain side 800 feet above the level of the Sea from which is a fine view of Vesuvius and the Appenines the high points of which are now covered with snow.

Friday, 1 April [1887]

Went to Naples. Spend the Evening with Mr and Mrs Fletcher and Mrs Davis.

Friday, 15 April [1887]

We have now been in Rome (a second time) one week[.] [H]ave witnessed the Easter ceremonies at St. Petro, abounding in excellent music, much kneeling, changing of

Mass., 1937), 95; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 320; Simpson, "Tribute to Helen Pitts Douglass," 131.

²⁸⁵Located twenty-one miles from Naples, Pagani was a town of thirteen thousand inhabitants at the time and offered little of interest to the tourist aside from the relics of a local saint, a bishop in the eighteenth century. Baedeker, *Southern Italy*, 167; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2335.

²⁸⁶The surname Tuccillo is a variation of Tucci, a common name in all of Italy. Tuccillo is more frequently found in Campania, and specifically in the Naples area. Emidio De Felice, *Cognomi d'Italia: Origine, Etimologia, Storia, Diffusione, e Frequenza di Circa 15 mila Cognomi*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1978), 3:81.

vestments, much posturing, making signs of the cross, and what seemed to my eyes more pantomime, but which to the worshippers I must try to believe was full of devotion.²⁸⁷

To day a great surprise came to me. I received a call at the Hotel De la Poste²⁸⁸ where I am stopping from a lady of very fine appearance, who introduced herself as Mrs John Biddulph Martin, of 17 Hyde Park Gate S. W.²⁸⁹ She frankly, and I thought some what proudly told me that she was formerly Mrs Victoria Woodhull.²⁹⁰ I am not sure that I

²⁸⁷On Easter Sunday, 10 April 1887, the Pope celebrated high mass in St. Peter's. At the time a blast of trumpets from the dome accompanied the elevation of the host around 11:00 A.M. After being carried in a procession from the church, the Pope imparted the traditional benediction, "Urbi et Orbi," from the loggia of St. Peter's around noon. *New York Times*, 11 April 1887; Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 114.

²⁸⁸The Hôtel Posta was opposite the post office on the Piazza di St. Silvestro off of Via della Vite. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 105, 112.

²⁸⁹John Biddulph Martin (1841-97), a graduate of Oxford University where he excelled as an athlete, was a managing partner in Martin's Bank, the oldest bank in London. In addition to being an author of several pamphlets on financial matters, Martin was a prominent member of British society, serving on the boards of various hospitals, charities, and social clubs. He married Victoria Woodhull in October 1883, against the wishes of some of his family, and the Martins moved to 17 Hyde Park Gate in London in February 1884. Lois Beachy Underhill, *The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull* (Bridgehampton, N.Y., 1995), 279, 285-86; Mary Gabriel, *Notorious Victoria: The Life of Victoria Woodhull, Uncensored* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 250-52; *MEB*, 6:167-68.

²⁹⁰Born in Homer, Ohio, Victoria Claflin Woodhull (1838-1927) practiced spiritual healing as a child with her sister, Tennessee Claflin, in their parents' traveling medicine show. After marrying Canning Woodhull at the age of fifteen and divorcing him ten years later, Victoria and her sister continued their spiritual practice, moving to New York City in 1868 and attracting the adherence of Cornelius Vanderbilt, the railroad baron. With the financial support of Vanderbilt, the sisters opened a brokerage firm on Wall Street in 1869. Influenced by Victoria's paramour, Colonel James Harvey Blood, social revolutionary Stephen Pearl Andrews, and politician Benjamin Butler, the sisters published a newspaper, *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, from 1870 to 1876, printing articles on spiritualism, fashion, sports, and Woodhull's radical social theories such as free love and woman's suffrage. In her newspaper Woodhull publicized the affair of the famous minister Henry Ward Beecher with Elizabeth Tilton, the wife of Theodore Tilton. Woodhull also announced in this publication her intention to run for president in the 1872 election, receiving the nomination of the Equal Rights party with Douglass appearing on the ballot as her running mate. After being the first woman to run for president, Woodhull and her sister moved to England where both married men of wealth. Barbara Goldsmith, *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism, and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull* (New York, 1998); Underhill, *Woman Who Ran for President*; Gabriel, *Notorious Victoria*; *MEB*, 6:168.

quite concealed my surprise, but a train of events flashed upon me, the impression of which was difficult to drive from my face and manner. I however soon began to think, what do I know of this lady, that I should think her otherwise than merely holding strange, and erroneous opinions. I do not know that she is not in her life as pure as she seems to be. I treated her politely and respectfully, and she departed apparently not displeased with her call.

[Monday,] 18 April [1887]

We leave the Hotel De la Poste to Day, and go Mrs Putnam: Palazza Moroni, 165. Borgo Vecchio. Among the interesting calls made upon us during our stay at this Hotel, one of the most interesting was that of Mr Wm. H Hereford, of Manchester England.²⁹¹ We

²⁹¹An author and educator, William Henry Herford (1820-1908) prepared for the ministry in the Unitarian faith by graduating from London University. Offered a three-year scholarship to study in Germany, Herford postponed his ministry career and studied in Bonn and Berlin. Accepting a permanent position at a Unitarian church in Lancaster in 1848, Herford opened a school for boys two years later. Though not large, the school was successful until declining enrollment forced Herford to relinquish control to others. After tutoring for eighteen months in Zurich, Herford returned to the ministry in 1863, filling the pulpit of the Free Church in Manchester. A firm believer in education for women and girls, Herford opened a co-educational school for children in Manchester in 1873, later moving it to Lady Barn House, Worthington. Handing over control of the school to one of his daughters in 1886, Herford traveled and wrote, publishing his best work in 1889, *The School: An Essay towards Humane Education*. W[illiam] C[harles] R[eginald] Hicks, *Lady Barn House and the Work of W.H. Herford* (Manchester, Eng., 1936), xiii-xiv, 3-21; George Watson, ed., *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1969), 3:1730; Sidney Lee, ed., *The Dictionary of National Biography, Founded in 1882 by George Smith: Supplement, January 1901—December 1911*, 3 vols. (1912; Oxford, 1958), 1:255-56.

met yesterday at the U.P. Church²⁹² Senator Fry of the U.S. Senate.²⁹³

[Wednesday,] 20 April [1887]

Spent most of the day in the halls of Statuary in the Vatican, said to be the best collection of such works of Art in the world. Here we see the heads of the Emperors, as rendered by those who saw them, and I suppose they are likenesses some of them taken in their youth, middle age and when they had grown old and hardened in crime or the reverse.²⁹⁴

[Thursday,] 21 April [1887]

Attended the unveiling of a monument to Galilio, on the Pincio.²⁹⁵ The time selected for the ceremony was well chosen. It was on the day upon which it is supposed that

²⁹²Founded in 1862, the Scottish Presbyterian Church in Rome faced persecution for violating the papal decree that prohibited Protestant worship within the walls of Rome. When the congregation built a church in 1870, it chose a site just outside the city walls. Located at Via Ventiseptembre 7 near the Quattro Fontane, the congregation mainly consisted of students, professors on sabbatical doing research, and tourists. In 1886 the church held services at 11:00 A.M. and 3:30 P.M. on Sundays. Since 1881 the minister was Reverend Gordon Gray, who served the church until his death in 1920. The Douglasses had tea at Reverend Gray's house the day after attending the worship service. Helen Pitts Douglass to Jennie, 25 April 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frame 491, FD Papers, DLC; Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 113; MacKinnon, *Beyond the Alps*, 88-95, 100-101.

²⁹³Born in Lewiston, Maine, and educated at Bowdoin College, William Pierce Frye (1830-1911) studied law and practiced in Rockland, Maine. After being elected to the state legislature, mayor of Lewiston, and attorney general for the State of Maine, Frye served ten years in the House of Representatives, resigning in 1881 to serve as U.S. senator from Maine, a position he held until his death. As a strict Republican, Frye was an expansionist, wanting to acquire territory in the Caribbean and outposts in the Pacific. He served on the peace commission following the Spanish-American War and was instrumental in acquiring the Philippine archipelago in those negotiations. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1996* (Alexandria, Va., 1997), 1063; ACAB, 2:558; NCCN, 2:1657; DAB, 4:51-52.

²⁹⁴The Hall of Busts in the Vatican contains the images of several Roman leaders, including Hadrian, Nero, and Augustus Caesar. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 303.

²⁹⁵Located outside the Villa Medici just to the south of the Pincio, the monument marks the place where Galileo stayed when he visited Rome. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 143-44; Wade Rowland, *Galileo's Mistake: The Archaeology of a Myth* (Toronto, 2001), 1.

Rome was founded, therefore the anniversary.²⁹⁶ The monument consists of a granite column about ten feet in height about 18 inches diameter, on a marble pedestal, surmounted with a globe, showing lines of latitude and longitude on its surface. There is a belt of bronze around it with a Latin inscription and the name of Galileo upon it.²⁹⁷ There was neither prayer nor priests employed in its unveiling, for the monument is an honor to science and not to superstition.

Friday, 22 April [1887]

Attended Reception of Judge Stallo, the American Minister.²⁹⁸ The occasion every way pleasant. Mr Stallo was more than courteous to all his guests and I thought especially cordial to Mrs Douglass and myself, taking her on his arm to the dining room and requesting me

²⁹⁶According to legend, Romulus founded Rome when he was eighteen years old on the twenty-first of April. He and his twin brother, Remus, were the sons of Mars and Rhea Silva. After being suckled as infants by a she-wolf, the brothers quarreled over the founding of the city and Romulus killed Remus. The twenty-first of April is the traditional date for the foundation of Rome, later celebrated as *Natalis (birthday) Romae*. Thomas Bulfinch, *Bulfinch's Mythology: The Age of Fable, the Age of Chivalry, Legends of Charlemagne* (New York, [1959?]), 942; Oswalt, *Greek and Roman Mythology*, 256-59.

²⁹⁷The inscription states, "It was here that Galileo was kept prisoner by the Holy Office, when he was on trial for having seen that the Earth moves and the sun stands still." Rowland, *Galileo's Mistake*, 1.

²⁹⁸Born in Seirhausen, Oldenburg, Germany, Johann Bernhard Stallo (1823-1900) immigrated to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1839 after his father and grandfather, both schoolmasters, provided him with a solid education, particularly in mathematics and foreign languages. After teaching for two years at a parochial school, Stallo joined the faculty of St. Xavier College for three years, and then took a position at St. John's College in Fordham, New York, teaching chemistry, physics, and mathematics. During this time he wrote a book on philosophy, attempting to acquaint Americans with the German approach to that field. In 1848 Stallo returned to Cincinnati to study law and to become involved in politics, leading to his appointment to the bench in the Hamilton County Court of Common Pleas. Stallo's political support for the Democratic party led President Grover Cleveland to appoint him minister to Italy in 1885. Stallo retired to Florence, Italy, four years later when the Republicans returned to power. U.S. Department of State, *Register . . . 1887*, 10; *NCAB*, 11:259; *DAB*, 9:496-97; *ANB*, 20:531-32.

[Sunday,] 8 May 1887

Addresses to be remembered

Madame Remond Pintor²⁹⁹

Piazza Barberina, No. 6 Rome³⁰⁰

Caledonia Hotel: Adelphia Terrace. Strand. London.³⁰¹

Address at Florence,³⁰² Mrs Geoti: No. one. Piazza Soderini³⁰³

Worte to Mrs P.B. Clark: Street. May 13.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁹Sarah Remond Pintor was staying at Piazza Barberini Number 6 while she was in Rome. Sarah Remond Pintor to Douglass, 8 July 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 5, frames 581-83, FD Papers, DLC.

³⁰⁰Adorned by a fountain with a Triton blowing on a conch by Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, the Piazza Barberini is the termination point for the Via Quattro Fontane, the Via Sistina, and the Via del Tritone. Baedeker, *Central Italy*, 167.

³⁰¹Located at 1-3 Robert Street near Charing Cross, the Caledonian Hotel was one of several quiet family hotels on streets that led from the Thames River to the Strand, one of London's busiest thoroughfares with many exclusive shops. Baedeker, *London*, 9, 133.

³⁰²Florence was a jewel of the Renaissance, being ruled for the most part by the Medici family during that time. Florence was home to many Renaissance artists, including Dante, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Donatello. From 1865 to 1871, Florence was the capital of the newly formed kingdom of Italy. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 380-85, 475-77; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:1010-11.

³⁰³Madam Giotti ran a pension in Florence at Piazza Soderini 1, and the Douglasses stayed there while in Florence. Helen Pitts Douglass to Mrs. Putnam, 10 May 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 5, frame 508, FD Papers, DLC; Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 375.

³⁰⁴Helen Priestman Bright Clark (1840-19??) was the oldest child of John Bright (1811-89) and the only child of his first wife, Elizabeth Priestman Bright, who died in 1841. A member of Parliament from 1843 until his death, John Bright with Richard Cobden spearheaded the anti-corn law effort to reduce Great Britain's longstanding tariffs on imported grains when Douglass visited England the first time, and Douglass was a guest in John Bright's home. In 1866 Helen married William Clark, a Friend engaged in the shoe business. They lived in Street, a town in central Somerset in southwestern England. She invited Douglass to visit her and her family when he returned to England in 1887, and he stayed at the Clarks on 12-14 July 1887. No record remains of the letter Douglass wrote to Clark on 8 May 1887. Helen P.B. Clark to Douglass, 5 May, 6 July, 2 August, 1887, 15 June 1894, Douglass to Helen P.B. Clark, 19 July 1894, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 502-04, 578-79, 630-31, reel 8, frames 21-23, 41, FD Papers, DLC; Douglass to Helen Pitts Douglass, 12 July 1887, Williston Memorial Library, MShM; John Bright, *The Diaries*

Tuesday, 10 May [1887]

Arrived in Florence.

My first excursion here was to see the grave of Theodore Parker³⁰⁵ in the Protestant Cemetery.³⁰⁶ I found in the grateful shade of a cedar tree, covered with violets and roses, attesting the presence of some friendly hand. The brown head stone has nothing ornamental or costly about it. The inscription has only the name of the great man whose dust sleeps below it, with the date of his birth and his death. I could but recall as I looked upon his grave, the many services rendered the cause of human freedom by him, freedom not only from physical chains but the chains of superstition, those which not only galled the limbs and tore the flesh, but those which marred and wounded the human soul. A few feet from the remains of Theodore Parker lie those of Richard Hildreth,³⁰⁷ a nother American

of John Bright, with a Foreword by Philip Bright, ed. R[obert] A[lfred] J[ohn] Walling (London, 1930), 212-16; Keith Robbins, *John Bright* (London, 1979), 27-28, 182; George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (Boston, 1913), 42, 423; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2966, 3033; *MEB*, 4:496; *DNB*, 1:145.

³⁰⁵A graduate of Harvard Divinity School, Theodore Parker (1810-60) was a Unitarian minister in Massachusetts famous for his liberal theology. Parker questioned the divine nature of Jesus and the inerrancy of the Bible, arguing that the teachings of Jesus and the scripture were only part of divine truth, which any human was capable of expressing. From his religious convictions, Parker was a staunch supporter of reform, especially on the issue of slavery. Parker assisted fugitive slaves and secretly supported John Brown's insurrection. Poor health led Parker to travel in Europe, where he died in Florence. Bowden, *Dictionary of American Religious Biography*, 420-21; *ACAB*, 4:654-56; *NCAB*, 2:377.

³⁰⁶The Protestant Cemetery in Florence is at the intersection of the Viale Principe Amedeo and the Viale Principe Eugenio. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, Plan of Florence, I, 4.

³⁰⁷Born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, and educated at Harvard, Richard Hildreth (1807-65) practiced law until 1832 when he became an editor of the Boston *Atlas*, a daily newspaper promoting Rufus Choate and other young politicians of the Republican party. As editor, Hildreth argued strongly against slavery and against the annexation of Texas. He later moved to British Guiana where he edited publications that supported the abolition of slavery by the British government. Writing regularly for several newspapers and encyclopedias, Hildreth's best known work was his six-volume *History of the United States*, published from 1849 to 1856. President

who will never be forgotten by those who have read his Book entitled Despotism in America³⁰⁸ and the white slave.³⁰⁹ It is said to think that one with such talent as Richard Hildreth should have died in absolute poverty in a foreign, but such I am told was the fact. In the same cemetery, where so many Americans have found a last resting place, I found the grave of E.B. Browning.³¹⁰

Lincoln appointed Hildreth to the American consulate in Trieste, Italy, where he remained until illness caused him to resign. *ACAB*, 3:200; *NCAB*, 10:460; *NCCN*, 2:2009.

³⁰⁸Hildreth first published *Despotism in America*, a survey of the political, economic, and social ramifications of slaveholding in America, anonymously in 1840. In 1854 he added a chapter based on two articles he wrote for Theodore Parker's *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, and republished it as *Despotism in America: An Inquiry into the Nature, Results and Legal Basis of the Slave-Holding System in the United States* (Boston, 1854). Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature, Embracing Personal and Critical Notices of Authors and Selections from Their Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day; With Portraits, Autographs, and Other Illustrations*, ed. M. Laird Simons, 2 vols. (1875; Detroit, 1965), 2:299.

³⁰⁹Hildreth originally published *The Slave, Or Memoirs of Archie Moore*, proclaimed as the first antislavery novel, in 1836. Enlarged and republished in 1852 as *The White Slave: A Story of Life in Virginia, Etc.*, the novel tells the story of a Virginia slave who is freed by British troops during the War of 1812, settles in England, and becomes a successful merchant. Duyckinck and Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, 2:299; James D. Hart, *The Oxford Companion to American Literature*, 6th ed. (New York, 1995), 290.

³¹⁰Born at Coxhoe Hall, Durham, and privately educated, English poet Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-61) published her first book of poems anonymously in 1826. Other works of poetry followed, as well as a translation of *Prometheus Bound*, the Greek tragedy by Aeschylus. In 1845 the poet Robert Browning began corresponding with her, expressing his admiration for her poems. A courtship ensued, strongly opposed by her father, but the couple eloped in 1846. They settled in Florence, Italy, hoping that the climate would improve Elizabeth's failing health. After giving birth to a son in 1849, Elizabeth published in 1850 *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, dedicated to her husband and considered her best and most popular work. Later works centered on her support for the unification of Italy and her defense of intellectual freedom for women. Her tomb, designed by Sir Frederic Leighton, is a sarcophagus resting on six pedestals. Beverly Taylor, "Elizabeth Barrett Browning," in *Victorian Women Poets*, ed. William B. Thesing (Detroit, 1999), 80-98; Frank N. Magill, ed., *Critical Survey of Poetry: English Language Series*, 8 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1982), 1:323-33; Scott Wilson, *Resting Places: The Burial Sites of Over 7,000 Famous Persons* (Jefferson, N.C., 2001), 44.

I have enquired and sought, but have not found in Florence the home of Miss

Ludmilla Assing³¹¹ the sister of my friend of many years Miss Ottilie Assing.³¹² Alas!

how soon are the dead forgotten, and how soon we who live must be consigned to the same oblivion.

³¹¹Born in Hamburg, Germany, Ludmilla Assing (1821-80) was the younger daughter of David Assing, a poet and physician, and Rosa Maria Assing, a poet and narrator. After her father's death in 1842, Ludmilla moved to Berlin to live with her maternal uncle, Karl August Varnhagen von Ense, acting as her uncle's companion and secretary until his death in 1858. Ludmilla published in 1860 her uncle's correspondence with his friend Alexander von Humboldt and her uncle's diaries in 1861, enraging the Prussian monarch and royal court. Convicted of treason and defamation and sentenced to two years of confinement, Ludmilla fled to Italy, where she settled in Florence in 1862. Successful as a biographer, translator, and editor, Ludmilla built a mansion in Florence. Tragedy and mishap marked her personal life. Her first lover, Italian revolutionary Piero Cironi, died shortly after they became intimate, and her second paramour turned out to be a married man. In 1873 Ludmilla married Gino Grimelli, twenty years her junior, a marriage that ended two months later after he abused her, cheated on her, and took a large portion of her fortune in a divorce settlement. Ludmilla's acquaintances and her sister, Ottilie Assing, with whom she had a close yet volatile relationship, reveled in her humiliation. Ludmilla changed her will to disinherit her sister, leaving her mansion to become a school. She also left the entire collection of family papers, including her uncle's papers and her sister's letters to her, to the Royal Library in Berlin. Her sister challenged the will, but to no avail. Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines*, 78, 311-13, 323-26, 355, 361-62, 370; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 184-85; Walther Killy and Rudolph Vierhaus, eds., *Dictionary of German Biography*, 3 vols. to date (Munich, 2001), 1:204-05.

³¹²Born in Hamburg, Germany, Ottilie Assing (1819-1884) was the older sister of Ludmilla Assing. As a correspondent for the German newspaper *Morgenblatt*, Ottilie immigrated to the United States in 1852 to avoid the political unrest and anti-Semitism in Germany. Living in Hoboken, New Jersey, she taught German and continued as a correspondent at the newspaper. After reading *My Bondage and My Freedom*, Ottilie introduced herself to Douglass in 1856, and the two became close friends. She shared his political beliefs and supported the same social reforms, and he valued her education and cultural refinement. After she translated *My Bondage and My Freedom* into German, Hoffman and Campe of Hamburg published it as *Sklaveri und Freiheit* in 1860. Beginning in 1857, Ottilie spent the summers at the Douglass home, a practice she continued for twenty-two years, purportedly to work on publications and speeches with Douglass. In turn he visited her regularly in Hoboken whenever possible. When Ottilie discovered that she had breast cancer in 1884 and that Douglass married Helen Pitts earlier that year, she committed suicide in Paris, where she was visiting. She left Douglass the income from her estate, and directed the executor of her estate to destroy all papers in her possession, a request that her executor honored. Nevertheless, letters from Ottilie to her sister survived, revealing a long-term sexual relationship between Douglass and Ottilie, one that was not hidden but not openly discussed. Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines*, 7, 81-83, 147-51, 161-63, 169-71, 203, 206-12, 227-30, 253, 273, 368-70, 379-81; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 184-85, 277, 289, 322.

Florence is all alive to day. She is expecting the arrival of her king and queen.³¹³

They are immensely popular not only in Florence all over Italy. The priests hate them, but the people love them. The streets are now densely packed with a multitude eager to look upon royalty! Yet what after is all the pomp and glory of kings! How soon must the strongest and proudest sink below the horizon and mingle with the common dust of the earth.

Wednesday, [11 May 1887]

We Helen and I went to see Prof Fisk³¹⁴ in his beautiful home the former residence of Minister Marsh.³¹⁵ We were cordially received[.] Shown his Library, his study, his

³¹³Married to his cousin, Margherita Teresa Giovanni of Savoy (1851-1926), King Umberto I (1844-1900) ruled Italy from 1878 to 1900, the second king of Italy after his father and his wife's uncle, Victor Emmanuel II, died. Portrayed as a valiant soldier in the war against Austria to unify Italy, Umberto entered into a defense pact in 1882 with Austria-Hungary and Germany, called the Triple Alliance, which eventually led to World War I. Umberto also initiated Italy's attempt in the 1890s at colonial expansion in Africa, which ended with the routing of the Italian army by the Ethiopians at Adua in 1896. An anarchist assassinated Umberto in 1900. Richard Drake, *Byzantium for Rome: The Politics of Nostalgia in Umbertian Italy, 1878-1900* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), xviii, 90, 202-07, 213; Fanny Zampini Salazar, *Margherita of Savoy, First Queen of Italy: Her Life and Times* (London, 1914), 18, 40-48.

³¹⁴A librarian and book collector, Daniel Willard Fiske (1831-1904) attended Cazenovia Seminary and Hamilton College in New York, but left in 1850 to study Scandinavian languages at universities in Denmark and Sweden. In 1852 Fiske became the assistant librarian at the Astor Library in New York City. He also engaged in editing and writing articles for various periodicals and newspapers. In 1867 Fiske became the librarian at Cornell University and a professor of North European languages, teaching German, Swedish, Danish, and Icelandic. When Fiske's wealthy wife, a tubercular invalid, died in 1881, a year after their marriage, Fiske successfully challenged her will and inherited a sizable amount of money. He resigned from Cornell and moved to Florence. He spent the rest of his life traveling in Europe, entertaining friends and visitors in Florence, and collecting rare books on Dante, Petrarch, and Icelandic history and literature. He left his rare book collection to Cornell after his death, along with a \$500,000 endowment to maintain it. Horatio S. White, "A Sketch of the Life and Labors of Professor Willard Fiske," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 12:69-88 (July-October 1918); *ACAB*, 2:498-99; *NCAB*, 25:279-80; *ANB*, 8:28-29.

³¹⁵Born in Woodstock, Vermont, George Perkins Marsh (1801-82) practiced law until becoming a member of the Vermont legislature in 1835 and serving as a Whig in Congress from 1842 to 1849. Appointed by President Zachary Taylor as ambassador to Turkey in 1849, Marsh

grounds, the remarkable points of the environs of Florence, invited to stay to breakfast, and to dine at any time during our stay in Florence. For this last our stay was entirely too short.

Florence is, as I intimated full of life. Her streets are crowded with people, her houses are adorned with flags, of all colors and nationalities. Splended equipages,³¹⁶ with livened servants are dashing through the streets and dazzling in the sun light. Well dressed men and elegantly dressed ladies, are finding their way through orderly crowds of the common people who seem to feel as much at home and as much at their ease as the princely personages who roll by in their splended carriages. This feature of the scene gladdens my eyes.

We shall be here only three or four whole days and I am already greived to quitt this truly delightful city.

Sunday, 15 May [1887]

We have now been in Italy since the 10th Five days of sight seeing, and of tumultuous enthusiasm. King Humbert and his wife, I should say the Queen, are here to

began a long and distinguished career in the diplomatic corps. After serving on a special mission to Greece, Marsh became the first U.S. minister to the new kingdom of Italy in 1861, serving that post for the rest of his life. As the capital of the expanding kingdom moved from Turin to Florence to Rome, Marsh moved with it. From 1865 to 1871 Marsh lived at the large and elaborate Villa Forini in Florence on the open plain of the Arno. Among his many and diverse areas of expertise, Marsh translated an Icelandic grammar book in 1839, a work that later caught the attention of Daniel Willard Fiske in his study of Scandinavian languages. Fiske introduced himself to Marsh in the 1850s and became a regular visitor to Marsh's home. Marsh also gave Fiske access to his library of fifteen thousand volumes. After Marsh died, Fiske rented his villa in Florence. David Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation* (Seattle, 2000); Horatio S. White, *Willard Fiske: Life and Correspondence, a Biographical Study* (New York, 1925), 12; Halldor Hermannsson, "Willard Fiske and Icelandic Bibliography," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 12:97-106 (July-October 1918); John E. Findling, *Dictionary of American Diplomatic History*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1989), 339-40; *BDAC*, 1446.

³¹⁶A horse-drawn carriage with its servants.

unveil the splended facade of the Duomo, the grand cathedral of Florence.³¹⁷ We have seen the Uffizzi Palace with its fine pictures and statuary,³¹⁸ The church of San Marco,³¹⁹ the grand Mosoleum of the Medicis and the Tombs built by Michel Angelo.³²⁰ Very impressive are the figures. We have seen the Monastery of San Marko, and the room of Salvonarola and the place where burnt to death,³²¹ and above all we have seen the streets of Florence crowded with its citizens and the peoples from thee neighboring cities and country, and found them very like the same crowds to be seen in American cities on great occasions only as I think a trifle more good natured though not more quiet in behavior. The

³¹⁷Built from 1294 to 1462, the Cathedral or Il Duomo of Florence is particularly famous for its massive dome three hundred feet high, designed by Filippo Brunelleschi. The marble façade replaced the one removed in 1588, an unfinished façade by Giotto di Bondone. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 406, 474, 477.

³¹⁸The Galleria degli Uffizi, located near the Piazza della Signoria, contains art collections started by the Medici family and largely supplemented by the Lorraine family. Noted for the extent and value of its collection, the Uffizi is particularly famous for its ancient sculpture and contemporary painting. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 388-402.

³¹⁹Built in 1290 and completely altered in the sixteenth century, St. Marco is a church with a flat ceiling, a dome over the choir, and no aisle, with a new façade in 1780. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 424.

³²⁰Michelangelo built the New Sacristy of St. Lorenzo in 1523 for Pope Clement VII, born Guilio de' Medici (1478-1534), as a mausoleum for the house of Medici. Among those buried in the mausoleum were Juiliano de' Medici (1479-1516) and Lorenzo de' Medici (1492-1519). Michelangelo sculpted the statue of Lorenzo and the statues of Evening and Dawn on the tomb of Lorenzo. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 432-33, 476.

³²¹Adjacent to the church of the same name, the Monastery of St. Marco was home to the Silvertrine and later the Dominican monks. Eventually the monastery closed and the building became a museum. Hieronymus Savonarola (1452-1498), the prior of St. Marco and the leader of the theocratic republic in Florence from 1494 to 1498, was a prisoner in St. Marco before being tortured and burned at the stake in the Piazza della Signoria on 23 May 1498. A fountain with Neptune and Tritons, designed by Bartolomeo Ammanati, marks the site of the burning. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 383, 387, 424, 473; Jonathan W. Zophy, *A Short History of Renaissance Europe: Dances over Fire and Water* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1997), 123-25.

Arno forms a beautiful feature of Florence as the Seine is to Paris.³²² We leave tomorrow for Venice³²³ with a feeling that our stay has been all too brief in Florence.

[Saturday,] 21 May [1887]

We have now spent four days in Venice, and two days in Milan,³²⁴ and have passed this day in Lucern.³²⁵ The ride from Florence to Venice was delightful. The weather was neither too hot nor too cold, and bright sunshine gave a lustre to the snow-crowned Apennines and set them off attractively and imposingly. As to Venice itself I can only say it surpassed all the ideas I had formed of it. It is a city by itself. I had read of its canals, its Gondolas,³²⁶ its Rialtos,³²⁷ its palaces, and its wonders of art, and its churches, and was prepared to look upon all with admiration, but had after small comprehension of its charms.

³²²The Arno River bisects Florence as the Seine does Paris. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 385; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:163, 1010, 3:2857.

³²³Located in northeastern Italy on 118 islets in the Adriatic Sea, Venice rose to world power by conquering Constantinople in 1204 under the command of a doge, or leader, named Enrico Dandolo, who ruled from 1192 to 1205. After defeating its rival Genoa in 1380, Venice became the leading European sea power, with extensive trade with Asia. Reaching its peak of power in the fifteenth century, Venice thereafter declined in influence with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 and the discovery of alternative sea routes to Asia. Venice alternated between Italian and Austrian control in the nineteenth century, eventually being reunited with Italy in 1866. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 236-38; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3331.

³²⁴At the heart of Lombardy and its capital, Milan is one of the richest manufacturing centers of Italy, with silk and woolen goods comprising its primary products. Several navigable water routes connect to Milan. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 121; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1979.

³²⁵Located on Lake Lucerne in central Switzerland, Lucerne was mainly a summer resort town at the time. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 29; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1798.

³²⁶A light flat-bottomed boat used on the Venetian canals, with a cabin towards the middle and rising to a sharp point at both ends, usually propelled by one person with a single oar.

³²⁷Situated on the Canal Grande and named for the island that is the historic center of Venice, the Rialto Bridge joins eastern and western Venice. Begun in 1588 and completed in 1591, the Rialto remained the only bridge across the Canal Grande until 1854. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 263; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3331.

The Square in front of St Mark³²⁸ that monarch churches, flanked by the Doge's Palace and arcades on the other,³²⁹ once seen will never be forgotten, and will always fill the mind with peculiar pleasure. In looking at Venice as it is, with the marks of decay upon it, though still in many respects the most beautiful of cities, but we easily think of what it must have been in the days of its, when it was the city of Merchant Princes, and had control of the rich commerce of all the East, when it was a free Republic.³³⁰ I saw its Biblotyc containing acres of volumes, and precious manuscripts[.] [A]mong these I saw letters from three great Americans, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamen Franklin.³³¹ On the great canal,

³²⁸St. Mark's Square is the center of activity for Venice, with the Church of St. Mark's as its focal point. Named for the author of the gospel and the patron saint of Venice, St. Mark's is the traditional resting place of the evangelist after the Venetians removed his body in 828 from its reputed tomb in Alexandria, where he died a martyr around 68 A.D. Built in the tenth century and remodeled several times, the Church of St. Mark's reflects the contact that Venice had with the East, being ornamented with Byzantine and Asian styles. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 240-42; Ettore Vio, ed., *St. Mark's Basilica in Venice*, trans. Huw Evans (London, 1999), 9, 18; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3331.

³²⁹Bordering the Church of St. Mark's on the square on the east is the Palace of the Doges. Originally built in 800 and destroyed several times by fire, the Palace of the Doges was the residence of the Venetian leaders until the close of the eighteenth century. Colonnades of 107 columns decorate the western and southern sides of the palace. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 245-46; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3331.

³³⁰The last doge to rule Venice was Lodovico Manin from 1788 to 1797. Thereafter the French took possession of the city and gave control of Venice to Austria. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 237.

³³¹Established in 1818 and located on the Campo dei Frari, the Archivio di Stato, or State Archives, at Venice contains a letter written in 1784 from John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson. In that year Congress had appointed the three men to head a commission to negotiate treaties of commerce with European powers. At the time Franklin served as ambassador to France, and Jefferson and Adams served as ambassadors to France and Great Britain, respectively, the next year. Written to Chevalier Delfino, the Venetian ambassador, the letter suggests a treaty between the two republics. Carl Russell Fish, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives* (Washington, D.C., 1911), 237, 241; Benjamin Franklin, *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Jared Sparks, 10 vols. (Boston, 1840), 10:102-03; K[laus] G. Saur, *World Guide to Libraries*, 12th ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1995), 1:229.

I saw the house where Desdemona resided when wooed by Othello.³³² No where else than in Venice is glass manufactured into more perfect forms of beauty.³³³ Where climate, sea and sky are so beautiful, it is not strange, that they should suggest beauty to the artificers in all kinds of works.

Milan: aside from its splendid Cathedral, is not remarkable.³³⁴ It is simply a fine city, with fine Houses, stores, squares, like any other fine city.

I have spoken of the ride from Florence to Venice, but that was nothing in comparison with the ride from Milan to Lucern. Delightful surprises, in mountain scenery kept our eyes awake and eager all the way. Now it was towering snow covered mountain tops, overhanging and frowning rocks deep gorges, looking as if opening to swallow up,

³³²Located on the right side of the Canal Grande, beginning from the Piazzetta, the Palazzo Contarini-Fasan is the traditional home of Desdemona, the heroine of Shakespeare's *Othello*. The focal point of the fourteenth century building is its three balconies decorated with wheel traceries, with small pilasters adorned with waving scrolls between the turning wheels. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 260; Edoardo Arslan, *Gothic Architecture in Venice*, trans. Anne Engel (New York, 1972), 332-33.

³³³Venetian glass is a variety of glassware produced in Venice from the thirteenth century and particularly noted from the late fifteenth century. The Venetians uncovered the secret of decolorizing glass using manganese, a practice lost earlier with the fall of the Roman Empire. Extremely flexible, the transparent crystal-like glass could be blown very thin and shaped into intricate patterns. It was also possible to engrave the colorless glass with a diamond point or make it into brilliant mirrors. Guarding the secrets of making Venetian glass by meting out severe penalties on former employees who disclosed the process, the Venetians maintained their dominance in glassware production until the sixteenth century, when defecting workers made the techniques common knowledge. While Venetian glass remained the best in the seventeenth century, imitations emerged from France, the Netherlands, Germany, and England. In the eighteenth century Bohemian glass displaced Venetian glass in prestige, although the reproduction of the seventeenth century masterworks continues. Alan Macfarlane and Gerry Martin, *Glass: A World History* (Chicago, 2002), 23-24; Phoebe Phillips, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Glass* (New York, 1981), 58-80; Mark Pickvet, *The Encyclopedia of Glass* (Atglen, Penn., 2001), 218-19.

³³⁴Built from 1386 to 1813, the white marble cathedral in Milan is one of the largest churches in Europe. Nearly two thousand marble statues and ninety-eight Gothic turrets ornament the roof of the cathedral, surmounted by a dome rising 220 feet high. Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 122-24; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1979.

our on dashing train, and now it was beautiful cascades leaping in dazzling splendour down the dark mountain side, to join some dancing stream that threaded its way through depths below. Their little Swiss cottages tucked up neatly in little spaces, often higher up than the Eagle is wont build his nest, and where avalanches, and land slides seemed most to threaten. Every possible corner of earth here which gave the faintest promise of reward, seemed carefully tilled. Here at least there are no idlers. Men, women and children all work, and even that born gentleman of leisure the day is seen helping his master to bear his burden. Women in their red head dresses, ornament the field, and at the same do their full share with shovel and hoe. Wherever else, woman is denied her equal right to toil like a man, here at least her equality is fully and fairly recognized.

Lucern, where I now am, has a beautiful lake at its feet a powerful stream running through it, fertile fields and gardens on one side, and cloud piercing mountains on the other. It is difficult to conceive a town situated more beautifully, and I do not wonder that it attracts in summer a large concourse of visitors.

[Wednesday,] 25 May [1887]

I am again back in Paris at the Hotel Britannique. Wrote to Charley to day.³³⁵

³³⁵No record exists of the letter Douglass wrote to his son Charles on 25 May 1887.

Called on the Stantons,³³⁶ and upon Mr Tilton,³³⁷ the latter not home. Called upon the Lespremons, and learned of the death of the dear old man the head of the house.³³⁸ Bought Ticket par la Ville de Rome pour Helen[.]³³⁹

[Thursday,] 26 May [1887]

A long walk a long La rue de Rivoli.³⁴⁰

³³⁶Born in Seneca Falls, New York, author and journalist Theodore Stanton (1851-1925) was the son of Henry Brewster Stanton, a journalist and prominent lecturer in the antislavery movement, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, an author and founder of the woman's suffrage movement. After graduating from Cornell University, Stanton served as the Berlin correspondent for the *New York Tribune* for several years. In 1884 he wrote *The Woman Question in Europe*, and in 1910 he authored *The Life of Rosa Bonheur*. In addition to translating François le Goff's *The Life of Louis Adolphe Thiers*, Stanton was a contributor to several periodicals while living abroad. Married to Marguerite Berry of Paris, he lived at 5 Avenue de l'Opera in Paris. *New York Times*, 2 March 1925; Hamilton Traub, ed., *The American Literary Yearbook* (Henning, Minn., 1919), 193; *ACAB*, 5:649-50; *NCAB*, 11:503.

³³⁷Theodore Tilton (1835-1907) was an author and editor committed to the antislavery and woman's suffrage movements. He began his editing career at the *New York Observer*, and then spent fifteen years as the editor of the *Independent*, a Congregationalist journal. Also a popular speaker and lecturer, Tilton briefly edited the *Golden Age*, an independent weekly focusing on politics and literature, before selling it two years later. In 1874 Tilton became embroiled in a public scandal when he alleged that Henry Ward Beecher, his pastor and friend, as well as his predecessor at the *Independent*, had committed adultery with Tilton's wife. Although the church cleared Beecher of the charges and a civil court case was inconclusive, Beecher's reputation never fully recovered. Tilton moved to Europe in 1883 and was in Paris when he died. *New York Times*, 25, 26 May 1907; Oscar Fay Adams, *A Dictionary of American Authors*, 5th ed. (Boston, 1904), 383-84; *ACAB*, 6:120; *NCAB*, 8:100.

³³⁸L. Espremont was a civil engineer who lived at 9 Boulevard de Sebastopol in Paris, where that street intersects with the Rue de Rivoli, one block from the Seine River. J.C. Fletcher to Douglass, 17 February 1887, reel 4, frame 456, General Correspondence File, FD Papers, DLC; Cartes Taride, *Plan-Guide de Paris: Répertoire des Rues, Métros, Autobus* (Paris, [1968]), 306.

³³⁹Helen Pitts Douglass sailed on the *City of Rome* from Liverpool to New York on 10 June 1887 to be with her ailing mother in Honeoye, New York. Douglass accompanied his wife to Liverpool to see her board the ship. Douglass to Amy Post, 10 June 1887, Post Papers, NRU.

³⁴⁰Constructed from 1802 to 1865, the Rue de Rivoli was one of the finest streets in Paris at the time. Named for Napoleon's victory over the Austrians in 1797 at Rivoli, Italy, the street runs from the Place de la Concorde, past the Garden of Tuileries and the Louvre. Baedeker, *Paris*, 58; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2624.

Sunday, 29 May [1887]

Was much in company with Mr Theodore Stanton[.] [C]alled upon Senator Scheolcher.³⁴¹ In parting with venerable Senator, he kissed me on both cheeks.

[Tuesday,] 31 May [1887]

London.

Calidian Hotel.³⁴² Walked through the National Picture Gallery.³⁴³ Saw there the Picture of a horse the finest I ever saw on canvass.³⁴⁴ Wrote a letter to Mrs Fanny Byse. 6. Rue Beau S'jour, Lausanne, a lady of fine intellect and of liberal religious views.³⁴⁵ My

³⁴¹Born in Paris and the son of a wealthy merchant, Victor Schoelcher (1804-93) studied journalism at College Louis le Grand and became a political activist, opposing the government of Louis Philippe. Beginning in 1826, Schoelcher bitterly fought slavery and spent his own money to establish philanthropic societies to aid blacks. After studying slavery in the United States, Cuba, the West Indies, and other places, Schoelcher became the undersecretary of the navy in 1848. In this post Schoelcher persuaded the provisional government to issue a decree that enfranchised the slaves of the French possessions forever. Elected to the legislature in 1848, Schoelcher immigrated to London when Napoleon took power. Returning to France in 1870, Schoelcher was again a member of the legislature in 1871, becoming a senator for life in 1875. In addition to being a journalist, politician, and philanthropist, Schoelcher was an accomplished musician and wrote an important biography of George Frederic Handel. Percy A. Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. John Owen Ward, 10th ed. (London, 1970), 928; *ACAB*, 5:423.

³⁴²Caledonian Hotel in London.

³⁴³Located opposite the west entrance of the South Kensington Museum, the National Portrait Gallery contains valuable original portraits and busts of famous Englishmen, including busts of Thomas Moore, George Stephenson, and Thomas Carlyle, and portraits of Richard III, Geoffrey Chaucer, and Henry VIII. Baedeker, *London*, 273-74.

³⁴⁴Because Douglass mentions seeing a painting of a horse, not likely part of a collection of portraits at the National Portrait Gallery, he perhaps visited the National Gallery instead, located at Trafalgar Square. Established by Parliament in 1824, the National Gallery had around one thousand pictures at the time, representing British, Flemish, Dutch, Italian, German, and French artists. The collection includes works by Michelangelo, Raphael, Rembrandt, and Reubens. Baedeker, *London*, 139-65.

³⁴⁵Born in London, Fanny Lee Byse (1849-?) lived in Lausanne, a well-known resort city in western Switzerland on Lake Geneva. A sculptor specializing in portrait busts, Byse at the age of forty-four studied under Jules Salmson, director of the School of Industrial Arts in Geneva. In 1901 her work became an exhibit at the Salon de la Société des Artistes Français in Paris, and over the

letter was in answer to one from her. In it she had said “The old heaven was a nice place where all kindred spirits were to meet again, but we must make the best of Mother Earth and memory.”³⁴⁶

[Saturday,] 4 June [1887]

I have received letters with the following address, one from Mrs Dora Delany.

6. St. Johns Wood Park London³⁴⁷

One from Mr Arthur John Naish. 149 Stratford Road

Birmingham.³⁴⁸

next decade her works entered the collections of the Royal Academy and Royal Society of British Artists in London. In 1903 Byse published a book, *Milton on the Continent; A Key to L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, with Several Illustrations, a Historical Chart, and an Original Portrait of Galileo*, in which she analyzes the accuracy of Milton's descriptions of the settings for those two poems. Byse was also an adherent of the church of humanity, also called the religion of humanity, founded by the French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798-1857). According to Comte, the two aims of religion are regulation of the individual and unification of all individuals. Called positivism, humanity as a whole is loved for its perfectibility, and humanity is the positivist God. Byse met Douglass when he was in Paris, and she sent him a religion of humanity prayer book and several pages of quotes from Comte. Douglass in turn gave Byse a photograph of himself. Fanny Byse to Douglass, [May 1887?], 26 February, 26 March 1888, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 726-30, 761-62, reel 8, frames 628-30, FD Papers, DLC; Andrew Wernick, *Auguste Comte and the Religion of Humanity: The Post-Theistic Program of French Social Theory* (Cambridge, 2001), 1-14; Chris Petteys, *Dictionary of Women Artists: An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born before 1900* (Boston, 1985), 113; E[manuel] Bénézit, *Dictionnaire Critique et Documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs*, 14 vols. (Paris, 1999), 3:68; J[ane] Johnson and A. Greutzner, comp., *The Dictionary of British Artists, 1880-1940* (Woodbridge, Eng., 1976), 91; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1698.

³⁴⁶With minor changes in punctuation, Douglass quotes from an undated letter, probably written in May 1887. Fanny Byse to Douglass, [May 1887?], General Correspondence File, reel 8, frames 628-30, FD Papers, DLC.

³⁴⁷Located in the city of Westminster near Regents Park, St. John's Wood Park is a two block-long street that runs from the intersection of Adelaide and Avenue roads to Queen's Grove. No record remains of the letter to Douglass from Dora Delany. Geographers' Map Company, Ltd., *Geographers' London Atlas*, 5th ed. (Sevenoaks, Eng., 1964), 58.

³⁴⁸An antislavery worker and a member of the Society of Friends, Arthur John Naish (1816-89) was an iron founder in Birmingham, England, a manufacturing city in central England equidistant from England's major ports: Liverpool, Bristol, Manchester, and London. Naish was

the son of William Naish, a haberdasher in London who published numerous pamphlets for the antislavery movement and sold them in his shop. The elder Naish also published *George Fox and His Friends As Leaders in the Peace Cause* in 1859. With Paul Bevan, Arthur John Naish founded the Bevan-Naish library of Quaker writings, consisting of seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century publications. Currently housed at Woodbrooke College Library in Birmingham, the collection contains three thousand books and two thousand pamphlets. Naish and Douglass met when Douglass was in England the first time. Arthur John Naish did write a letter to Douglass, dated 9 December 1886, possibly the one Douglass received in June 1887. Arthur John Naish to Douglass, 9 December 1886, 9 June 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 434-35, 526-27, FD Papers, DLC; B[arry] C[ambray] Bloomfield, ed., *A Directory of the Rare Book and Special Collections in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London, 1997), 570; Ellen M. Codlin, ed., *The Aslib Directory of Information Sources in the United Kingdom*, 6th ed., 2 vols. (London, 1990), 1:959; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:359; John Foster Kirk, *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, 2 vols. (1891; Detroit, 1965) 2:1163; *MEB*, 2:1071.

³⁴⁹From 1879 to 1898, Charles Harris Allen served as the secretary for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which had its office at 55 New Broad Street, located one block south of the Broad Street Station between Bloomfield and Old Broad streets. A fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Allen thereafter served as honorary secretary for the society until his resignation from that post in 1902. Douglass wrote to Allen on 3 June 1887, thanking him for the letters Allen forwarded and stating that he would be happy to receive a call from Allen, who lived at 17 Well Walk in Hamstead. No record remains of the letter Allen wrote to Douglass. Douglass to Charles H. Allen, 3 June 1887, Anti-Slavery Society Papers, ORH; *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 22:31 (January-February 1902); B.W. Gardiner and Son, *Royal Blue Book: Fashionable Directory, and Parliamentary Guide* ([London], 1890), 505; John Bartholomew and Son, *Reference Atlas of Greater London*, 8th ed. (Edinburgh, Scot., 1948), 65.

One from Mrs Isabella Mills.³⁵⁰ Northwold Bowden³⁵¹

Mrs. Bigelow. American Legation London.

³⁵⁰Isabella Mills (1813-?) was the daughter of Thomas and Ann Jennings, who lived on Brown Street in Cork, Ireland, with their eight children. Their daughters Jane, Helen, Charlotte, and Isabel were active members of the Cork Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society and collected donations for the American Anti-Slavery Society and contributions for the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar. When Douglass traveled abroad in 1845, he stayed with the Jennings when he was in Cork. After he returned to the United States, Isabel, who was the secretary of the society, supported Douglass's newspaper through donations to the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Bazaar. She married Robert Mills, who ran a bookbinding business. No record remains of the letter Mills wrote to Douglass before July 1887. Douglass to Isabel Jennings, 30 July, 22 September 1846, Isabel Mills to Douglass, 21, 31 July 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 1, frames 617, 632-33, reel 4, frames 612-14, 625-27, FD Papers, DLC; Jane Jennings et al. to Maria Weston Chapman, 1 December 1841, Isabel Jennings to Maria Weston Chapman, n.d., in Clare Taylor, *British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding* (Chicago, 1974), 158, 243-44; 1881 British Census, Surrey County, 2; *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 1:70-71, ser. 2, 1:167; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 119; Patricia J. Ferreira, "Frederick Douglass in Ireland: The Dublin Edition of His Narrative," *New Hibernia Review*, 5:53-67 (Spring 2001); Ellen M. Oldham, "Irish Support of the Abolitionist Movement," *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, 10:175-87 (October 1958).

³⁵¹Bowdon is a town on the southwestern side of greater Manchester, England. Another person listed in Douglass's diary, Mrs. John Mills, also has the address Northwold, Bowdon, England. Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 43, FD Papers, DLC; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:415.

Sunday, 5 June [1887]

Heard Spurgion.³⁵² Dined with Mrs Lucas 7 Charlotte Street Bedford Square.³⁵³

³⁵²Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-92) was a Baptist minister serving Metropolitan Temple in London. Calvinistic in his theology, Spurgeon entered the ministry at eighteen and became the pastor of the New Park Street Church in London in 1854. Almost immediately the congregation outgrew its sanctuary, forcing the church first to enlarge its chapel and then to build a new church, the Metropolitan Temple, in 1860. A gifted orator and, at twenty-two, the most popular preacher of his day, Spurgeon was an evangelical known as the last of the Puritans. His legacy at Metropolitan Temple included founding a seminary and an orphanage, and starting two hundred new churches. On 5 June 1887 Spurgeon delivered a morning sermon at the Metropolitan Tabernacle titled "The Death of Moses," based on Deuteronomy 5:6, "So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord." Charles Haddon Spurgeon, *The Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit: Sermons Preached and Revised by C.H. Spurgeon, During the Year 1887* (Pasadena, Tex., 1974), 313-24; Ernest W. Bacon, *Spurgeon: Heir of the Puritans* (London, 1967), 23-26, 35-38, 63-64, 90-92, 97-102; John Charles Carlile, *C.H. Spurgeon: An Interpretive Biography* (London, 1933), 64-69, 132-35, 169-72; Jackson, *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, 11:57-58.

³⁵³Margaret Bright Lucas (1818-90) was the younger sister of John Bright. In 1839 she married John Lucas (1811-65) over the objections of her father that Lucas, though a Friend, did not conform his dress to the manner of Friends. A journalist and politician, John Lucas was active in public education reform, emancipation efforts, and, as was John Bright, in the anti-corn law league. Before her husband's death, Margaret Lucas helped him in his causes. After he died she was active in the temperance movement and for political enfranchisement of women. She lived at 7 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square, London. Margaret B. Lucas to Douglass, 6 August 1888, General Correspondence File, reel 5, frames 8-9, FD Papers, DLC; Robbins, *John Bright*, 24; Trevelyan, *Life of John Bright*, 22; *MEB*, 2:524-25; *DNB*, 1:798.

Travel Diary of
Helen Pitts Douglass

[Tuesday,] 14 September 1886

City of Rome.

Drove to the pier in a hansom,¹ from Grand Central Hotel,² at 1 o'clock, a beautiful day, and after looking up our luggage went on board, and remained there, looking over the ship, watching the loading of the vessel and visiting with friends. In the evening Frederick went on deck, but I was tired and undressed and mounted my perch, the upper berth, and though we had pulled close on the dock and were all night receiving and loading freight just outside our port hole, I slept all night. As I said we went on board early, eager to see our room. We found it a very comfortable little place, the space opposite the berths and under the window a port hole, a round eye of glass, is occupied by the couch. Over it and over each berth is a wall pocket and over the stationary wash bowl, between it and the mirror a fresh linen pocket for brushes [. . .], fresh water bottle,

¹A two-wheeled carriage holding two passengers, with a rear-mounted seat elevated for the driver and the reins surmounting the folding top.

²Located between Bond and West Third streets in Manhattan, the Grand Central Hotel was at 671 Broadway. Taintor Brothers, *The City of New York: A Complete Guide, with Descriptive Sketches of Objects and Places of Interest, and Condensed Tables of Churches, Institutions, Banks, Hotels, City Railroads, Ferries, Stage Lines, Amusements, Etc.* (New York, 1885), 66.

pneumatic bell call,³ and altogether a nice cosy little place. Dr Frauenstein⁴ called the evening before sailing and we had a pleasant visit with him in the little boudoir upholstered in old gold plush and Ebony. We talked of Miss Assing,⁵ & as the genial Dr left he threw his arms around Frederick's neck in a good old fashioned hug & kissed him, kissed me, and ran off the steamer. A cordial wave of his hat from the dock and he was gone.

But all on board was the bustle of departure. On both ends of the long steamer a company of stevedores was hoisting and lowering into the hold great loads of pressed cotton for English manufacture, and as night came on a queer looking box boat steamed alongside, and before morning emptied its contents, great quarters of iced beef, into the hold of our ship. I descended from my perch, dressed, & was on deck before time to start. The Pilot, a pleasant calmed man of 45 yrs. passed a pleasant word with me before going

³Used primarily in small hotels and on board steamships in the late nineteenth century, a pneumatic bell-call consists of an air tube connecting two small bellows used to strike a bell or control the dial of an annunciator. Pushing a button, squeezing a rubber ball, or pulling a handle causes compressed air to travel from one bellows to the other, setting in motion a hammer that strikes a bell repeatedly and rapidly for a moment. The ringing stops when the second bellows contracts, returning the mechanism to its original position. "The World's Work: Pneumatic Bell-Call," *Century Magazine*, 23:319 (December 1881).

⁴Gustav Frauenstein was one of the closest friends of Otilie Assing during the last fifteen years of her life and part of an intimate cadre of political expatriates from Germany living in the New York City area in the 1860s and 1870s. The son of a Jewish family and a bachelor, Frauenstein was Assing's social companion, her physician, and at times a fellow boarder at some of the homes where Assing lived. It was Frauenstein who warned Douglass of Assing's delicate psychological and physical condition in the spring of 1873 after she spent the winter away from Douglass. Frauenstein also encouraged Assing to travel abroad on a European tour in 1876 for her health. She hoped Douglass would join her on this trip, but he did not. G. Frauenstein to Douglass, 4 May 1873, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frames 676-78, FD Papers, DLC; Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines*, 128, 275, 280, 291, 308-09, 320, 381-82; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 287.

⁵Otilie Assing.

into the pilot house. Frederick came up, and soon the whistle sounded[.] [T]he gang plank was pulled away and the mighty vessel moves quietly. These powerful tugs help to push her enormous length around and as she gets rightly headed separate from her and go their way. The pilot stays with us two or three hours, and leaves so quietly that we only know it when he is gone. The Captain takes charge and we are fairly committed to the voyage. The ocean is as smooth as any river, and about 4 hours out takes on the dark, exceedingly dark blue hue, that I have never before seen. For an hour or so it has an anxious mottled appearance that for some time I study in vain, but finally conclude to be due to millions of little waves or ripples receiving the sunlight at different angles. Only 71 passengers lose themselves in the spaces of this mighty ship that one week ago landed at New York hundreds of home returning travellers,⁶ and we are told that in London are many waiting passage, as the books of all the steamers westward bound are filled till into November. One of the passengers is Rev. Henry Wayland⁷ son of old Dr. Wayland,⁸ and as Frederick already knew him it was pleasant to meet. He looks and appears as if he might himself command a ship. He is totally without appearance of affectation, and hearty and plain in his manner of address, a six footer I am sure, and in a dark blue woolen suit including cap. Frederick and he have already had some political conversation to which I was an

⁶The *City of Rome* left Liverpool on 1 September 1886, and arrived in New York on Thursday, 9 September 1886, carrying 641 cabin passengers and 546 steerage passengers for a total of 1,187. *New York Times*, 3, 6, 10 September 1886.

⁷Heman Lincoln Wayland.

⁸Francis Wayland.

interested listener. To me there was the smell of mugwumpery⁹ on his mental garments, but it might have been ship smell. Mr. Brelock too, who with his little daughter are passengers, Frederick knew as a boy. He is a very pleasant man also. Just before coming down to the writing table in the pretty dining saloon, furnished in dark green, we got into conversation with a young Englishman who has been making an 18 days visit to the States and Canada.

The sea has been very smooth so far with but little rocking of the boat[.] Night came on and we sought our berths. I slept well and was on deck at 5½ o'clock by N.Y. time. No one was there. The chairs had all been set in a cross passage and the decks washed down which is done during the night. Soon a cheery Englishman who with his son a stout young man, spoke with us in the evening came on deck. Nearly opposite us at table sit Mr. and Mrs Chandler, she very pretty and gentle in appearance and he low in voice but with an air of quiet authority that commends him as a man not to be trifled with. The dining saloon is on the lowest floor I have seen, a large pleasant room in oak or what looks like it, supported down its length by columns, the port holes or round windows looking out on either side of the ship upon the broad ocean, an organ in the farther End, to one side of which is the long writing table at which we, with others, write and at which I am now sitting. This saloon is furnished in dark green plush, 8 long tables Extending down the middle, with a row of short tables at either side. Part of one row of short tables and part of the long table next to it, only, are occupied, as we have so few passengers. There is variety in the dishes and they are well selected and nicely prepared. The oat meal of breakfast is as good as anything we have, that is, it is to me a standby and

⁹The views and practices of mugwumps.

tastes good. Dr. Wayland sits way down at the end of the long table, and we are the last of the inside away up the room. In the passage at the entrance of the dining room are the stairs. Beyond in two narrow passages along the ship one Either side are state rooms, ours being No 92, on right hand passage. Over the dining room is the drawing room, or saloon, with piano at further end, the middle occupied by an open space looking down into the dining room, surrounded by a neat railing, and containing hanging plants and two canaries. Around the room are what would be settees, but that they are divided into sections making of them individual chairs, the color of carpet and upholstery is greyish and pleasing and restful to the Eye. Just outside this saloon are the decks where the steerage passengers are when they wish to be outside. Above this saloon again is a lovely little boudoir in old gold plush and Ebony, and the deck on this floor is the promenade deck, where most of the cabin passengers spend much of their time.

Thursday, 16 [September 1886]

The second day was slightly rougher, white caps appearing. We saw seven vessels in all, three of which were steamers, one of which the Captain spoke (by signals) and one from Amsterdam or Rotterdam I forget which,¹⁰ was crowded with passengers on deck as we passed, curious like ourselves to see any steamer coming so near. We had made this day, the 16th [] miles, and the Captain is directing his course rather to the northward.

¹⁰Amsterdam and Rotterdam are the two largest cities in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Connected to the North Sea by the Noordzee Canal in North Holland province in the western part of the Netherlands, Amsterdam is the constitutional capital of the country, but not the administrative one. Located in South Holland province in the western part of the Netherlands on the New Maas River, Rotterdam is the principal port of the country. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:100-101, 3:2652-53.

During the day Dr Wayland came to Mr. Douglass, urging him to give an address some evening of the voyage, as he had consulted with the Captain and several passengers and there was a general desire to hear him. Mr. Brelock brought me a pretty Highland story¹¹ to read. He is of Scotch parentage. Mrs. Chandler, at table asked me about Eva Pitts, whom she knew at Naples, and whom she greatly admired, and was much pleased to find me her sister.¹² We meet often on deck. She is going abroad for her health and will visit Egypt and Palestine.¹³ She has completed a four years course in art. She was Isora Schwartz.¹⁴ Her name I remembered at once as one Eva often mentioned, and her marriage I partly remember, but cannot recall the particulars. To day they are testing temperature of ocean by drawing up buckets full and plunging a thermometer in.

Friday, 17 [September 1886]

Rose early again and on deck, apparently the first one. Sea smooth again, the air a little more like cold at first, but warm on deck. One of the officers Mr. Morrison came to

¹¹A story of, or pertaining to, the mountainous region of northern Scotland.

¹²Eva Pitts (1849-?), the youngest sister of Helen, attended Cornell University, as did their younger brother, Gideon Wells Pitts, and she was one of the first women to graduate from that institution. Characterized as being loyal to Helen after her marriage to Douglass, there is evidence of the existence of some tension. As Helen was in Honeoye, New York, to care for her ill mother, Eva was traveling in England. Douglass mentions in a letter to Helen that he and Eva would be in Liverpool at the same time. He writes, "I shall not put myself in her way for if she hates me it must give her pain to see me and I certainly do not desire to give her the least pain during her brief tour abroad." Douglass to Helen Pitts Douglass, 28 June 1887, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frame 554, FD Papers, DLC; 1870 U.S. Census, New York, Ontario County, 378; McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 310, 320; Nelson, "Best of Intentions," 41.

¹³Palestine is the historic and geographic region on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, consisting of modern Israel, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. The region has been the subject of numerous wars over the centuries, and by 1840 the Ottoman Turks governed it until the British gained control in World War I. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2344-45.

¹⁴Her first name was Izora. 1880 U.S. Census, New York, Erie County, 116.

us before breakfast as we were sitting on deck and had quite a long pleasant conversation. He has always been on the sea, first on sailing vessels, and for four years on the *City of Rome*. Such a voyage as this is the perfection of luxurious travelling. The beautiful Ever changing hues of the ocean, the grand sweep of the sea, the flitting vessels crossing our path, and we wrapped in our easy chairs on deck, seem rather flying through the air, so gentle is the motion of the boat. I have had some tendency to head ache and a little qualmishness, but could walk or stand at any time, and have not yielded to it at all, missing no meal, and am pronounced a good sailor. The wind has hitherto been against us, but to day is in our starboard quarter, (right side quarter) and we have four sails set. These and the immense straight iron masts, and three enormous black smoke pipes sending their long black trail away behind them over the ocean, together with the exceeding length of the vessel, nearly 100 ft longer than Washington Monument¹⁵ must make an imposing sight. A card room with liquor counter, and a reading room, occupy the upper part of the boat back of the stairs leading on either side to the deck. Last evening Frederick and I looked into the card room where 4 men sat round a table gaming—the first time I believe, that I ever saw it. One man I marked for a gentlemanly villain, one looked like a lank American very grave and absorbed in the game. The other two seemed younger men, and I wondered how it was faring with them. An attendant, as

¹⁵Fashioned after a classic Egyptian obelisk, the Washington National Monument, located on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., is 555 feet high. Designed by Robert Mills, the monument pays tribute to George Washington, the first president of the United States, who served from 1789 to 1797. Begun in 1848 and completed in 1884 after several interruptions, the monument opened to the public in 1888. At 560 feet, however, the *City of Rome* was only five feet longer than the Washington Monument. Frederick L. Harvey, comp., *History of the Washington National Monument and Washington National Monument Society* (Washington, D.C., 1903), 27, 45, 99, 104, 108.

we left, brought them from the counter, a waiter with 4 glasses of liquor, and we left them with each a glass in hand.

The English passengers, the men, interest me greatly. Young, sturdy, in rough clothes, generally a kind of checked suit, without superfluous sail, they have a straightforward business like gait, that gets over the ground with least resistance. They seem so totally free from fine dressiness, so sensible in their attire, that I cannot but like them.

Saturday, 18 September [1886]

384 miles.

Up in the morning Early, sleeping like a top at night, and dropping asleep half dozen times during day till my head is tired with much sleeping. The day windy and late in afternoon huge billows begin to roll in, giving the steamer long plunging rolling motion. In the morning petrels¹⁶ skim along and a whale showed himself which I did not see. Towards night the fog came on, the decks were wet, and the whole feeling on my part was a kind of disgust and I would have been glad to step ashore and never sail another mile on sea.

Sitting on deck Mrs Chandler and I had a long visit. She has taken a 4 yrs course in Art, had a large class of pupils in Portland, Oregon,¹⁷ has written some for papers and

¹⁶A small sea bird with black and white feathers and long wings.

¹⁷Portland, situated on the Willamette and Columbia rivers, is a city in northwest Oregon. Founded in 1845 and named for Portland, Maine, the city grew quickly when it became a supply point with its deepwater port for the California goldfields. The Chandlers moved to Portland from Lockport, New York, in 1884 and returned to the state of New York in 1887. Methodist Episcopal Church, Oregon Conference, *Minutes of the Thirty-second Session*, 33; Methodist

published one book, "Althe," not connected with art, I think, but a S.S. book.¹⁸ She means to make this trip subservient to her art work. Then we walked the decks for a long time, then Frederick and I watched the billows. After dinner we sat around the deck. I undertook to read in the Library, & fell asleep. Retired in time, to be awakened by fog horn, which for a time kept some of the passengers anxious. Fog betokens ice.

Sunday, 19 [September 1886]

383 miles.

Morning damp but sat on deck till 10 ½ when English service was read by the missionary from China, Mr. Groves his wife presiding at the organ.¹⁹ Quite a number of the passengers met in the dining room but it was not very cheerful. The sining did not reveal great talent among the audience. One burly man I took to be English, had been parading the deck with *two* cigars from his ugly mouth. Someone asked him why two? It's Sunday, he replied, and said to someone that he was going to church and was going

Episcopal Church, *Minutes of the Annual Conferences . . . , Fall Conference of 1886*, 238, 300; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2491.

¹⁸Published by Carlton and Lanahan of New York in 1862 for the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *Althea* is a children's book of fiction. In it a mother explains to her thirteen year-old daughter the lesson of Matthew 5:4, "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." The book contains three illustrations with plates identifying John D. Felter and Elias James Whitney as the engraver and illustrator. Izora Chandler's connection with this book is unclear, although the work does not identify the author.

¹⁹Reverend W.L. Groves was from the American Presbyterian Mission, North. Affiliated with Trinity Cathedral in Shanghai, Groves and his wife left Shanghai in July 1886 to go to the United States and then to England. They returned to Shanghai in September 1891 to embark on a missionary assignment in Nantong, formerly called Tongzhon, thirty miles from the coast on the Chang Jiang, or Yangtze, River. *New York Times*, 16 September 1886; *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, 12:388 (September-October 1881), 13:234 (May-June 1882), 13:392 (September-October 1882), 13:465 (November-December 1882), 17:324 (August 1886), 22:490 (October 1891); Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:2117.

to sing too. Surely enough when I went in there was Burly, and at the proper time he stood up right in front of the clergyman, hands in breeches pocket and sang away for ought I know like a nightingale. Some of the young English men went through the service hardly looking on the book. I was not sorry when it was over. The missionary has a nervous affection that makes it impossible for him to preach. The poor fireman, who burst a blood vessel a few days ago died Saturday, and was buried at sea Sunday morning at 4 o'clock. So we went on in the rolling waves leaving in mid ocean one who sailed out with us buried before the passengers were out of their berths. I wondered if he had wife and child waiting for him. At 3 o'clock, about equal to 12 at home, Mr. Wayland met all who cared to join, in the Library, to go over the S.S. lesson of the International Series.²⁰ It did not seem to amount to so very much but I was glad I attended. The latter part of the day it rained, and though Frederick and I sat out a while covered up by wraps and waterproof, we were compelled at last to go in, and after sitting a while in the pretty saloon where some were reading, and a few about the piano, which does not seem particularly melodious, joined in singing, went to bed. The oil on the machinery and the water let into the rooms give two smells that I cannot endure. The first I try to keep away from, the second I get rid of by having a pail of water brought to the room instead of

²⁰Published by the Presbyterian Church, the International Series was a weekly Sunday school study prepared by twenty-four Presbyterian ministers. Reverend Rufus S. Green wrote the lesson for Sunday, 19 September 1886, based on John 17:1-26, in which Jesus prays for himself, his disciples, and all believers just before Judas betrays him and the Romans arrest him. The lesson emphasizes the humanity of Jesus and focuses on Jesus' request that his disciples be kept, sanctified, and unified. Rufus S. Green, "Jesus Interceding," in *Half Hours with the Lessons of 1886: Chapters on the Bible Texts Chosen for Sabbath-school Study During 1886, in Connection with the International Lesson Series* (Philadelphia, 1885), 338-46.

using the smelling water. It seems to be sour, and is said to grow worse instead of better.

It is condensed water, or formed by condensation and perhaps the tank is not clean.

I do not think we have on board a very brilliant company.

In the morning a school of porpoise gambolled about the ship but I missed them.

Frederick went after me to see them but when we got there they had disappeared.

Monday, 20 [September 1886]

380 miles.

This morning I noticed upon rising that I had entirely different feelings and am quite reconciled again to the voyage. Everyone seems to feel better. The sun has been shining, and the clouds rolled along the horizon in great silvery masses, much like the clouds we saw illumined by the sun on Mt. Washington.²¹ The morning I spent in the library, and as I left just before lunch had a pleasant little chat with the China Missionary. That burly, two cigar man, I am told is an Italian, and has a son as tall as himself, who politely brought me a cup of beef tea, when it was brought on deck and passed with crackers among the passengers there. This is done every morning at 11 o'clock, either beef tea or chicken broth.

At the top of the upper stairs, branching each way to the deck, is hung a map of the Atlantic, with the routes marked upon it, and each day at 12 o'clock our situation is marked upon it, and the number of miles we have gone since 12 o'clock the preceeding

²¹In August 1884 the Douglasses took a wedding trip to various places along the Great Lakes, including the White Mountains in north central New Hampshire and southwest Maine. The highest peak of the White Mountains is Mount Washington, rising to 6,288 feet. Douglass to Amy Post, 27 August 1884, Post Papers, NRU; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3457.

day, written down, so we may know just where we are, and how fast we are going. It has been given out that Frederick will speak which makes him somewhat uncomfortable as he fears imposing himself upon an audience. Nonsense! They need not come if they do not want to.

Tuesday, 21 September [1886]

To day the passengers are eager to make good distance, and calculating the time of reaching their journey's end. The meeting was held in the saloon last night Capt. Munro presiding. All seemed interested in Frederick's little address which was over before any one was ready for him to stop. He could have spoken an hour to their satisfaction, but for himself, he was saved that effort. Mr. Wayland at once sprang to his feet and asked attention for a few moments, and in his strong vigorous style gave Frederick a few words of merited recognition. The contributions were made up to £5, and it was decided to give it to the widow of the poor fireman. God save the Queen²² was sung and the company dispersed. I should perhaps add that we have on board a real live "lord," Lord Porchester, son of the Earl of Carnarvon,²³ a delicate but not sickly looking

²² First performed in London in 1745 after the "Young Pretender" to the British throne, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, challenged the rule of George II, "God Save the Queen" is the British national anthem. Although anonymously composed, the song first appeared in print in *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1745. Also anonymously written, the words are, "God save our gracious Queen, Long live our noble Queen, God save the Queen: Send her victorious, Happy and glorious, Long to reign over us: God save the Queen." It has been the national anthem from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Scholes, *Oxford Companion to Music*, 408-13; W[illiam] L. Reed and M.J. Bristow, eds., *National Anthems of the World*, 9th ed. (London, 1998), 549-50.

²³ George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Herbert (1866-1923), Lord Porchester at the time, later succeeded his father to become the fifth earl of the town and county of Carnarvon. Born at Highclere Castle near Newbury, England, he attended Trinity College at Cambridge University,

slip of a young man, or boy, pink and white complexion, close curly hair, and face of no great strength or promise. He with his tutor, have been travelling in America, & he is taking a young seal home with him. Two young men are his constant companions one a wealthy and pleasant fellow named King,²⁴ the other I know not who or what. The tutor is a rather severe red faced stocky, and silent man. These attended the address. Another passenger who interests me is an old Captain, name unknown, originally from Portsmouth, N.H.²⁵ Been everywhere a ship can go, and though now about 70 yrs of age, and apparently a little tremulous, en route to Calcutta. His personal affairs he keeps locked tight, but is free to relate experiences here and there. Small, thin white hair, bronze face, and very bright eyes, lays down even simple propositions with great gravity,

where he developed diverse interests, including horse racing, collecting porcelain, and playing sports. Considered an idler, Carnarvon did not flourish in a traditional academic setting, electing to be privately tutored instead. At the time the Douglasses met him, he was on a world tour. After becoming the earl of Carnarvon in 1890, he was in a serious automobile accident in 1903 that severely affected his health. Upon advice from his physician, Carnarvon began to spend the winter months in Egypt, where he rekindled a fascination with archaeology and Egyptology. Teaming with Howard Carter, Carnarvon discovered the tomb of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamen in 1922. While excavating the tomb the next year, Carnarvon fell ill from an insect bite that became infected. Chronically ill, Carnarvon died from complications from this infection, fueling rumors that his death resulted from an ancient curse on those who disturb the tombs of mummies. *New York Times*, 12, 16 September 1886, 6, 7 April 1923; Howard Carter and A[rnett] C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, 3 vols. (New York, 1963), 1:1-40; Thomas Hoving, *Tutankhamun: The Untold Story* (New York, 1978), 17-29; John Richard Stephens, "Introduction: The Truth of the Mummy's Curse," in *Into the Mummy's Tomb*, ed. John Richard Stephens (New York, 2001), 1-16; Charles Mosely, ed., *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 106th ed., 2 vols. (Crans, Switz., 1999), 1:505-07.

²⁴William King was a passenger on the *City of Rome*. *New York Times*, 12 September 1886.

²⁵Portsmouth is in southeastern New Hampshire on the Piscataqua River at its entrance to the Atlantic Ocean. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2494.

and with constant and emphatic use of the forefinger. Mr. Chandler does not like him, but I do, and am ready to give him ear, and he evidently likes Frederick and me for audience.

According to his story he was in the Sipoy rebellion,²⁶ in the Chinese war,²⁷ and the Caffre war,²⁸ not as combatent perhaps, but present, and he denounced them all. He

²⁶Also known as the Indian War for Independence, the Sepoy Rebellion, which lasted from 1857 to 1859, began when Indian troops employed by the East India Company revolted against British rule. The company had established control by the 1850s over the area between Pakistan and Sri Lanka, including various kingdoms of present-day India, which had formerly been under the control of the Mughal Empire. The troops, known as sepoy, complained that the British were not respecting the traditions of their religion and culture, and they rebelled. The British engaged in numerous battles to regain control, which they accomplished with the execution of the rebel general Tatyá Tope in April 1859. As a result of the rebellion, the British government abolished the Mughal Empire, ended the East India Company's control over the region, and assumed direct rule of India itself in 1858. Tapti Roy, *The Politics of a Popular Uprising: Bundelkhand in 1857* (Oxford, 1994), 1-3, 23-29, 78-80, 234, 242.

²⁷The Opium or Chinese Wars consisted of two wars fought between China and Britain after China attempted to halt the unlawful export of opium by British merchants. The First Opium War began in 1839 when Chinese officials confiscated opium at Canton. After sending warships to Canton in 1840, the British won a quick victory, resulting in the Treaty of Nanking as supplemented in 1843. The treaty forced China to open five ports to British commerce and to foreign residents, gave Hong Kong to the British, and required China to pay a large settlement. The Second Opium War started in 1856 when Chinese police swarmed the British ship *Arrow* and alleged that its crew was smuggling opium. British forces, joined by the French, again won a quick victory, resulting in the signing of the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858. When the Chinese balked at fulfilling the treaty's provisions, British and French troops burned the Summer Palace, and the Chinese agreed to ratify the treaty. The treaty opened up more ports for trade and expanded the places where foreigners could reside, in addition to opening up China to Christian missionaries. Jack Beeching, *The Chinese Opium Wars* (New York, 1975), 84, 103, 124-25, 153-58, 213-18, 247-52, 260-62, 312-28.

²⁸The Kaffir Wars were a series of nine frontier wars between pioneers in South Africa, first the Afrikaners and later the British, and the Xhosa and other native tribes, who were being displaced by the settlers. The wars began in 1781 and lasted for nearly one hundred years. The native tribes attempted to gain an advantage by playing the British and the Afrikaner settlers off each other. Ultimately the British defeated the native tribes, and the Afrikaners in turn defeated the British in 1881, which led to self-government for the Republic of South Africa. Caffre, a variation on Kaffir, is a derogatory reference to black Africans, or specifically to a South African race belonging to the Bantu family. A. J. Smithers, *The Kaffir Wars, 1779-1877* (London, 1973), 9, 35-38, 49-52, 215-19, 262-88.

must have been in East India, for he has the same quiet stealthy gliding way of appearing and disappearing that we are told belongs to that people, and perhaps to no other. At any rate he always reminds me of it. He sits at table with the Chinese missionary who is english, and Mr. Blelock very amusingly relates to us his way of pinning down that clergyman in American history, taking the wind completely out of his sails, till he seems to dread the old Captain, as the fly dreads the spider. One morning he forgot his manners, and rudely replied that he did not want American history rammed down his throat. Whereupon the old Captain deftly but quietly hopped over to England, then to China and made the poor clergyman's discomfiture complete. The English man comes to table, fidgets around, but sooner or later the little captain's bright eye, and that solemn forefinger of his begin their work, and alas, for Johnny Bull.²⁹ There are five or six men who seem to me scaly. They affiliate with each other and evenings gamble in the card room, which contains the bar. As the days pass on we speak and are spoken to by most of the passengers, who seem to like us, but the Chandlers and we, with Mr. Blelock and the old Captain, who is an odd one, one by himself, perhaps I should say the Chandlers and we seem to naturally come together. Mrs. Chandler is the "ornament" of the company I think, and her husband is apparently proud of, and devoted to her. She told me in confidence that he is a Meth. clergyman, but he came on board as Mr. Chandler, and no

²⁹John Bull is the moniker for an Englishman or Englishmen collectively. Dr. John Arbuthnot popularized the name, but did not invent it, in his satire, *Law Is a Bottomless Pit* (1712), republished as *The History of John Bull*. Room, *Brewer's Dictionary*, 578.

one suspects his calling.³⁰ He wished to travel in perfect freedom like any other man, and is often amused to hear the surmises as to whether there are any clergymen aboard, and who they are.


Wednesday, 23 September [1886]³¹

Last evening the concert was held in the saloon, presided over by Lord Porchester, not with that dignity a more earnest character would have shown. He was also called upon for a song, and accompanying himself upon the piano, sang a silly little thing called "That's all," and lisping out the words in quite a childish manner. Of course it was cheered. The singing did not amount to anything but helped to vary the monotony of the voyage. The Surgeon³² asked Frederick to move a vote of thanks to the Lord, which he did. After the concert Lord Porchester was introduced to us, and in a remark or two showed, I thought, a possibility of there being something to him after all. Mrs. Chandler is growing quite animated over the prospect of reaching Queenstown, where they land to make a short trip through Ireland before meeting Dr. Vincent in London. The young Englishmen turn out rather common people, I think, and while there seem to be nice people among the passengers, there are few I should care to "tie to." In a day we all go our several ways. Whither? More porpoises have been gambolling around, and the old

³⁰The *New York Times* referred to the Chandlers as Mr. and Mrs. G.W. Chandler, and not Reverend and Mrs. G.W. Chandler, when it published a partial list of passengers scheduled to sail on the *City of Rome* on Wednesday, 15 September 1886. *New York Times*, 12 September 1886.

³¹Wednesday, 22 September 1886.

³²Several doctors were passengers on the *City of Rome*, including Sanger Brown, J. Owens, and James H. Rooke or Rooker. *New York Times*, 12, 16 September 1886.

Captain says they jump out of the water to breathe. They look like good sized fish, leaping forward out of the water like this  always leaping the old Capt. affirms, toward the wind, so by them the sailors can tell the direction of the wind. They are a warm blooded animal, and when they do not jump, come to the surface and stick their noses out to breathe. To day I went down into the bowels of the deep, into the hold, no, below the hold, into the very bottom of this huge ship, where are the furnaces and the boilers and the machinery. I have been dreading going down, for one little lady who went down said it was a dreadful place and that she ruined a dress by going, and Mr. Blelock, who went down yesterday & who ruined a pair of pants, said nothing would induce him to go down again, that when he got off in the end of the ship, way under water, he would have given ten dollars to be up out of that frightful place. I was a little inclined to take description for experience, but feeling I might always be sorry I had not seen for myself, and Mr. Blelock offering to show me where they went down, and while looking one of that inferno's genii happening up and offering to conduct me, I thought it too good a chance, and running back and taking off my dress skirt and pinning around me a carriage lap cover in which we brought our deck blankets, put on my cloak which I left at the entrance in Mr. Blelock's hands, who waited for me, and followed my sooty guide. Down we went three flights of iron steps, to where the ponderous machinery was clacking, to where the dynamo was manufacturing the electric lighting of the ship, where hung the electric dial in communication with the Capt. on the bridge, over the deck, away through a narrow aperture to the stern of the ship, where the guide pointing to the copper slanting side said "There is the skin of the ship!" There must have been the spot that gave Mr.

Blelock the terror, and had I allowed my imagination full scope I might have easily been terrified. But I have kept a watchful restraint over it all the voyage and therefore escaped a natural terror. Then back past the mighty working levers to the huge furnaces 63 in number in nine rows of 7 each, with the sooty fireman stripped to the waist, opening and closing those fiery maws. Each furnace is surmounted by a huge boiler, like the boiler of a locomotive, and down the middle of this row there was a little path between leading to the tier beyond. Through it we went the boilers so near each other it seemed as if the hair would be burned from our heads, but we came out in safety, and turning with a cheerful good bye to these toiling attendants who could have stopped us in mid-ocean had they chosen, I followed my guide into the upper air, rewarded him with a bit of silver[,] donned my coat, and the thing was done.

No wonder the poor fireman died, how they could ever get him up those circular stairs without killing him I do not see, and the stifling air of those furnaces would have ended him had he staid below.

Thursday, 24 September [1886]³³

I read rather more industriously than I cared to to get through with Richard Grant White's book on England,³⁴ which Mr Wayland handed me with the remark that he

³³Thursday, 23 September 1886.

³⁴Born in New York City, Richard Grant White (1822-85) graduated from the University of the City of New York and studied medicine and law. Nevertheless, his passion for the arts and literature led him away from the practice of law toward a career as an author and critic. After attempting to establish two serial publications and failing, White wrote for the *Courier and Inquirer*, mostly as a music and art critic. He published several works on Shakespeare and edited poetry books. From 1861 to 1868 White was chief clerk of the New York customhouse revenue

preferred it to English Traits (Emmerson)[.] I do not, but by all means prefer the Traits, though I am glad to know all Mr. White tells us. About 2 or three o'clock we sighted land at first like a cloud resting on the horizon, which at sea seems much nearer than one would suppose. This filmy outline gradually assumed tangibility and towards night we came directly across the rocky, dreary, barren coast of Kerry[.]³⁵ At last upon a stretch of mountain side we descried numerous little huts clinging for dear life apparently, while the barren mountain side itself was seamed with dark lines which marked the stone walls by which it was divided. "Poor, barefooted Ireland" exclaimed Frederick gazing sadly upon those shores he first saw forty one years ago.³⁶ "Rich in wit, but poor in wisdom!" The wind was fresh but these shores were so fascinating that I stayed out in the cold watching them, as long as we could see. About [] o'clock we neared Queenstown, and Mrs. Chandler's eyes brightened as she looked forward to putting her foot again on solid land, and bidding good bye to sea sickness. She even grew merry in anticipation and gladly came forth from her state room in coat and a very dressy little befeathered hat, and with a few others awaited the transferring to a steaming boat that came alongside. We said good bye and from the upper deck watched the transfer. Our great steamer seemed solid and

bureau. For thirty years he contributed articles regularly to the *Atlantic*, *Putnam's Magazine*, and *Galaxy*. In 1881 he published *England Without and Within*, a discourse on English society, hailed by critics as the best commentary on that subject since *English Traits* by Ralph Waldo Emerson and *Our Old Home* by Nathaniel Hawthorne. *ACAB*, 6:474-75; *NCAB*, 1:197.

³⁵Kerry is a county in Ireland consisting of several mountainous peninsulas that jut into the Atlantic Ocean. The mountains, called Macgillicuddy's Reeks, include the highest point in Ireland, Carruntuohill. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1540.

³⁶Douglass spent over four months in Ireland the first time he traveled abroad in 1845. *Douglass Papers*, ser. 2, 2:210.

immovable, while the little tug or whatever it was bobbed up and down, now mounting up as if it would come to the upper deck & then sinking down again into the darkness. After the luggage was safely deposited, the passengers filed over, and I could not help being amused to see Mrs. Chandler meekly filing over with the rest, like a poor little martyr, her triumphant air all vanished. The plank was withdrawn, the bobbing lights moved off, they were introduced to the old world through Queenstown and we steamed on our way toward Liverpool. There has been one little baby, the son of a young Dr. Brown from Ills. going to study in London,³⁷ and a youngster of 3½ yrs I believe, who with his mother, English, are going back to Yorkshire to see “Grandma.” He is a sturdy well behaved little fellow, and sits opposite us at table. Mr. Blelock says the old Capt. steams up in the afternoon & by 3 o’clock feels quite happy. How I do hate the stuffy state rooms at night. We have had to have the port hole closed for two or three nights past, as the sea has been high, and the water is dashed against the port hole with considerable violence. The long plunging motion of the vessel, dipping her bows beneath

³⁷After graduating from Bellevue Hospital Medical College and practicing at several hospitals for the insane, Dr. Sanger Brown (1852-1928), a neuropsychiatrist, traveled to London in 1886 to conduct experiments with Professor E. Albert Schäfer of the University College of London. While there Brown and Schäfer proved for the first time that the center of vision in animals was in the occipital lobe, publishing their findings in “An Investigation into the Functions of the Occipital and Temporal Lobes of the Monkey’s Brain,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 179:303-27 (1888). Brown was also the inventor of the Christy saddle for bicycles, almost universally used when introduced. When he returned to the United States, Brown taught at medical schools in the Chicago area and ran a sanitarium in Kenilworth, Illinois. His only son was Christy Brown, who resided in Chicago. *New York Times*, 12, 16 September 1886; *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 90:1139 (7 April 1928); *Proceedings of the Institute of Medicine of Chicago*, 7:52-54 (15 May 1928); *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 67:643-44 (June 1928).

the waves, then rising, rising, till she turns to plunge again, is to me the most unpleasant.

The top of the head seems to fly off.

I forgot to mention Fastnet light,³⁸ signalled before dark a tower that reminded me of Sankaty Head tower in Nantucket³⁹ but perched on a single bold rock rising up from the sea as if for the express purpose of upholding that light to mariners.

Thursday, 24 September [1886]⁴⁰

Early this morning the noble coast of Wales came in sight. Bold in outline it is at the same time cheerful, and not like the sad dreary Kerry coast, but to me the Kerry rocks were quite as interesting. Ireland is no longer in sight. Wales absorbs the attention. But the clouds veil Snowdon, and in vain we stretch our gaze for a sight of this highest land in Great Britain.⁴¹ We saw cottages here also but not such dreary little huts as the Irish. They were white and the hill sides looked as if they might have good grass, while the Irish mountain sides seemed barely covered with a thin mossy looking skin of dull green.

³⁸Fastnet Rock is an islet off of County Cork, Ireland. A one hundred sixty-foot lighthouse on it is close to the point farthest south in Ireland. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:987.

³⁹Built in 1850, Sankaty Head Light is a lighthouse located in Sciasconset, a village on the eastern shore of Nantucket Island off the coast of Massachusetts. Ray Bearse, ed., *Massachusetts: A Guide to the Pilgrim State*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1971), 338; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:2784.

⁴⁰Thursday, 23 September 1886.

⁴¹Located in northwest Wales and known as *Yr Wyddfa* in Welsh, Snowdon is the highest mountain peak of Wales or England, at 3,560 feet. In reality, Ben Nevis in the Grampians of western Scotland is the highest mountain peak of Great Britain with a height of 4,406 feet. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 326; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:316, 3:2956.

We steamed past Anglesee,⁴² wishing we might but get sight of the tubular bridge,⁴³ of course impossible, and were at last compelled to take another lunch on board. Then a low lying shore became visible, and this was old England. Then we began to have a stretch of land upon both sides of us, and finally as we came in site of Liverpool the tide being out the City of Rome dropped anchor two clumsy dirty sort of ferry boats with no cabin steamed up alongside, one at the bow for cabin passengers, one at the stern for steerage passengers, and thus we sailed up the Mersey⁴⁴ to Liverpool, the great seaport which now has 1/3 the foreign trade of Great Britain.⁴⁵ On our way we met the Manx Steamer for the

⁴²Anglesey or Anglesea is a Welsh island connected to the mainland by two bridges over the Menai Strait. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 293-94; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:113.

⁴³The Britannia Bridge, or tubular bridge, crosses the Menai Strait to connect the Welsh mainland to the island of Anglesey. Designed by Robert Stephenson, son of locomotive pioneer George Stephenson, the bridge consisted of two long iron tubes, rectangular in shape, through which trains could travel. It opened in March 1850, and remained unaltered until fire severely damaged it in 1970. Redesigned as an arch bridge, it has an additional roadway on top of the railway for road traffic. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 293; Nathan Rosenberg and Walter G. Vincenti, *The Britannia Bridge: The Generation and Diffusion of Technological Knowledge* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 5-7, 82, 100.

⁴⁴The Mersey River is seventy miles long and flows southwest to the Irish Sea near Liverpool. Its sixteen-mile estuary is navigable for oceangoing vessels. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 332; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1957.

⁴⁵In 1880 Liverpool accommodated a little over 27 percent of Great Britain's imports and exports. Of the 53,036,262 tons of goods entering and leaving Great Britain in 1880, a total of 14,496,364 came through the docks of Liverpool. John Glover, "Tonnage Statistics of the Decade 1870-80," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 45:37-81 (March 1882).

Isle of Man,⁴⁶ with the arms of that Island⁴⁷ upon its side



something

after this fashion. Soon the *Snaefell*,⁴⁸ from Douglas, Isle of Man,⁴⁹ passed us carrying a crowded deck into Liverpool. These steamers are said to make 21 miles an hour. Soon we passed Birkenhead⁵⁰ on our right, occupying what seemed a natural hill side, an outskirts

⁴⁶The Isle of Man is in the Irish Sea off the coast of Great Britain. The Isle of Man Steam Packet Company Ltd. operated the only Manx-owned steamship service at the time for the island. The service began in 1767 when the government of the Isle of Man created a regular sea transport from the island to Sunderland Point in northwest England. By 1815 the regular sea packets included routes to Ireland and other ports in northwest England, including Liverpool. These activities resulted in the formation of the Monas Isle Company in 1829, which became the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company Ltd. in 1831. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 349-50; Vaughan Robinson, Richard Prentice, and Gwyneth Davies, "Economic Infrastructure," in *The Isle of Man: Celebrating a Sense of Place*, ed. Vaughan Robinson and Danny McCarroll (Liverpool, Eng., 1990), 190; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1861.

⁴⁷The emblem that is the official armorial bearing of the Isle of Man is the three legs of man, called a triskele, fashioned as the spokes of a wheel to symbolize the island's position amid England, Scotland, and Ireland. Used by Manx monarchs since the thirteenth century, the symbol usually depicts the legs in armor and spurred. Since the mid-seventeenth century, the Latin phrase, "*Quocunque Jeceris Stabit*," or "Whichever way you throw, it will stand," frequently accompanies the three legs. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 349; R.H. Kinvig, *The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural, and Political History* (Liverpool, Eng., 1975), 90-92; Walter Shepherd, comp., *Shepherd's Glossary of Graphic Signs and Symbols* (London, 1971), 407.

⁴⁸Built in 1876 and named for the highest peak in the Manx mountains, the *Snaefell* was a paddle steamer operated by the Isle of Man Steam Packet and could complete the passage from Douglas to Liverpool in inclement weather in three and a half to four hours. The Royal Netherlands Steam Ship Company purchased the steamer in 1904. Arthur William Moore, *The Isle of Man Steam Packet Co. Limited, 1830-1904* (Manchester, [Eng.?], 1904), 52-56; Isle of Man, Official Information Department, *Isle of Man* (Douglas, Isle of Man, n.d.), 29; Hall Caine, *The Little Man Island: Scenes and Specimen Days in the Isle of Man* (Douglas, Isle of Man, 1894), 6.

⁴⁹Located on the eastern coast of the island on the Irish Sea, Douglas is the capital of and a popular resort on the Isle of Man. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 350; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:862.

⁵⁰Birkenhead is a town and a port in west central England on the Mersey River. Adjacent to Liverpool, Birkenhead has extensive docks under the same management as those in Liverpool. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 330, 337; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:358.

apparently of Liverpool between which and the city lie a very few of the many wonderful docks that are the pride and glory of Liverpool.

With my first step on the landing stage,⁵¹ I said to myself, "England," and passed on through a file of porters or some sort of pleasant looking official in uniform holding in their hands a what seemed a red morrocco⁵² flat book with "Midland" in large gilt letters on the outside where all could see.⁵³ I suppose the other Roads were also represented.⁵⁴ While waiting for Frederick to see to the luggage one of our passengers had his bag and box poked over⁵⁵ right before my eyes which I turned away while a group of men watched the proceedings with all that curiosity which is said to belong especially to woman. When our traps⁵⁶ were collected, the trunk only was merely opened by raising

⁵¹In the middle of the row of docks, in front of Prince's Dock and George's Dock, the landing stage was an enormous pontoon, 2,060 feet long. Connected by eight bridges to the shore, the current landing stage replaced one destroyed by fire in 1874. Steamships deposited their passengers at the north end of the Landing Stage, known as Prince's end, while river ferries used George's, or the south end. The open area between the two docks adjacent to the Landing Stage is Pier Head, a connecting point for several omnibus and tramway lines. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 337-38; Ritchie-Noakes, *Liverpool's Historic Waterfront*, 30.

⁵²Used primarily for bookbinding and upholstery and produced originally in Morocco and other Barbary States, morocco-leather consists of goatskins tanned with sumac.

⁵³The Midland was one of the railway companies that operated out of Central or Raleigh Street Station to Sheffield, London, Manchester, Derbyshire, and Lincoln. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 331.

⁵⁴Other railway companies operating in Liverpool at the time included the London & North Western, Great Northern, Great Western, and Manchester, Sheffield, & Lincolnshire Company. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, xx, 331.

⁵⁵Custom agents inspected the baggage of cabin passengers on transatlantic steamers after machines conveyed the parcels to the Customs Examining Hall, where licensed porters waited to transfer the baggage to cabs. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 338.

⁵⁶One's personal belongings and effects.


the lid, locking again, while upon all the official clapped his ticket, and we departed with them. Before this however, Frederick had been accosted by a young man from Ohio, fresh and ruddy as an Englishman. Yankee Doodle⁵⁷ is every where. We had upon the tug bade adieu to our friend the old Captain, whose last story was that he once started out from Liverpool in company with five other ships, that down and out away a storm arose, and his was the only ship that rode through the gale and crossed the Atlantic. One went ashore on the Welsh coast, one put in to Milford Haven,⁵⁸ I believe, and three returned disabled to Liverpool. May we sometime meet again. We took a cab, on to the top of which they bounced our heavy trunk, it seemed as if it must come through on to my head, it was before Frederick got in, and away we went to a private hotel recommended by a steward of the City of Rome. A dubious looking place when we got to it. Two men panted upstairs with the trunk, but before I got it more than unlocked, in came Frederick who meantime had found another place, and up came two more men to pant down stairs again and around the corner to a plain but neat house on Lord Nelson St.⁵⁹ where we have taken up our abode for the time we stay in Liverpool. The girl who waits upon us, Nelly, is a chubby pretty, honest, little girl of 16 or 18 yrs. I should think and very capable. Our

⁵⁷The name of a popular song from the mid-eighteenth century, attributed to British troops during the French and Indian War (1755-63), Yankee Doodle became a quasi-national persona for someone from the United States. Room, *Brewer's Dictionary*, 1173.

⁵⁸Located on the Welsh coast, Milford Haven is a twelve-mile long inlet of the Atlantic, with chief ports at Milford Haven, Pembroke Dock, and Neyland. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 200, 211-12; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:1980.

⁵⁹The three-block long Lord Nelson Street borders the Lime Street Station and runs between St. Vincent Street East and Lime Street. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, Plan of Liverpool, D, 4.

dinner, we eat alone, seemed quite as if taken from a story. We had the traditional chops, and they were sweet and good.

In the evening we went out for a walk. We are only two blocks from St. George's Hall one of or the principle building in the city, containing an organ said to be the largest in England.⁶⁰ In St. George's Hall are held the Sessions, or Criminal Court.⁶¹ Concerts are also held in the Hall.⁶² It is approached through a sort of square surrounded by posts and an iron chain  low enough to step over, two great portals of stone, i.e., a stone block on each side, surmounted by a crouching lion, making 4 lions. Within the railing & on the square, on pedestals, are Prince Albert at one end and the Queen at the other,⁶³ on horseback while in middle between the two is a large statue upon a pedestal of

⁶⁰Built by Henry Willis and completed in 1855, the organ in Great Hall in St. George's Hall is one of the best and largest in the world. Described as the first modern organ and powered primarily by steam engine, the instrument has inclined stop-jambs, a concave radiating pedal keyboard, and thumb pistons. Willis subsequently built several more town hall organs, including one in 1871 in London's Royal Albert Hall, an organ larger than the one at St. George's Hall. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 333; Cecil Clutton and Austin Niland, *The British Organ*, 2nd ed. (London, 1982), 88-90; Stephen Bicknell, *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, 1996), 264-65.

⁶¹The Courts of Assize, presided over by judges sent by special commission from the crown on circuits through the kingdom, occupied the north and south wings of St. George's Hall. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 334.

⁶²Used for concerts and other public meetings, the Great Hall of St. George's Hall measures 170 feet by 90 feet. Another venue for music in St. George's Hall is the Small Concert Hall, located over the north vestibule. Organ recitals were at 8:00 P.M. on Thursdays and on Saturdays at 3:00 and 8:00 P.M. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 332-34.

⁶³Queen Victoria (1819-1901) reigned from 1837 to 1901, the longest of any British monarch. The daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, and Maria Louisa Victoria of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, Victoria married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg (1819-61), in 1840, a marriage arranged by their grandmother and uncle. Victoria came to rely heavily on the advice of Albert, and his early death at forty-two greatly distressed her, rendering her a virtual recluse for the remaining forty years of her rule. Victoria had good relationships with some of the country's

Lord Beaconsfield.⁶⁴ It was only the common and the lower classes on the street where we walked in the evening, but little begrimed children in tatters, and great bare-legged, bare-headed girls, were hurried along the crowd. The faces of many are tolerably cheerful but not happy in expression. Life is certainly a struggle here.

Friday, 25 September [1886]⁶⁵

Walked out down by Clayton Sq, in Church St. where we lunched, in the Market, in Bold St., then up by the Adelphi, and toward home,⁶⁶ meeting again the Ohio man of

prime ministers, most notably Benjamin Disraeli. At his insistence Victoria gained the title Empress of India in 1876, the height of British prestige. Although the security of the crown was in jeopardy when Victoria ascended the throne, her lengthy reign rendered her politically astute and widely popular by the end of her reign. The equestrian statue of Queen Victoria stands at the north end of the east facade of St. George's Hall, and her husband's equestrian statue is on the south end. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 334; David Williamson, *Brewer's British Royalty* (London, 1996), 12-14, 332-35; Mike Ashley, *The Mammoth Book of British Kings and Queens: The Complete Biographical Encyclopedia of the Kings and Queens of Britain* (New York, 1998), 687-93.

⁶⁴Born in London, Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81) was of Italian Jewish parentage, but converted to Christianity at the age of twelve after a family disagreement with their synagogue. After apprenticing in a law office, Disraeli wrote popular novels and traveled extensively abroad. Famous for his flamboyant style of dress, Disraeli turned to politics, winning a seat in the House of Commons as a Conservative in 1837, the year Queen Victoria began her reign. When the Conservatives divided over the issue of the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, Disraeli led the faction opposing the repeal of the protectionist legislation. Over time Disraeli became a confidant of Queen Victoria and became prime minister in 1874 with her support. After Disraeli helped secure the title Empress of India for Queen Victoria in 1876, she in turn bestowed upon him earl of Beaconsfield for his assistance. Several statues memorialize Disraeli, including one in Westminster Abbey and one on the east side of St. George's Hall in Liverpool. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 334; Keith Laybourn, ed., *British Political Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2001), 105-08; *DNB*, 5:1006-25.

⁶⁵Friday, 24 September 1886.

⁶⁶Clayton Square, to the north of Liverpool's Central Station, was the site of the Prince of Wales theater. Named after St. Peter's Church, the pro-cathedral of the diocese of Liverpool, Church Street is to the west of Clayton Square. Bold Street, to the south of Clayton Square, was the site of the Lyceum, which housed fifty thousand books and a reading room. Both Bold Street and Church Street were home to the best shops in Liverpool. St. John's Market, to the north of Clayton Square, was the main food market in Liverpool. The Adelphi, to the east of Clayton

the first hour here with two companions. Rode on train to Pier & back. In P.M. walked out again up London Road⁶⁷ meeting the surging crowd seeing the poor children begrimed & in tatters, little barefooted, ragged boys running after the train cars, turning cart wheels in the hope of having a penny thrown them. Met a strange foreigner, hatless & with some sort of covering thrown around his lithe body, hurrying as if pursued. In evening again walked down Lime St,⁶⁸ seeing the same or a similar crowd back across the sq in front of St. George's Hall & to our room. Our meals are served to only ourselves, at any hour we designate. Nellie who waits upon us is a bright pretty girl from Yorkshire.

O, the misery that cruelly abides in this city. What are these poor barefooted tattered children to do when winter comes? Our landlady avers that many of them are in the street with very likely drunken mothers at home that this town is second only to Glasgow⁶⁹ in the amount of drunkenness among women.

Square at the top of Ranelagh Street near Central Station, was a hotel. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 331-35.

⁶⁷London Road intersects with Lime Street at St. George's Hall and is one of the busier streets in Liverpool. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 336, Plan of Liverpool, D, 4; E, 4.

⁶⁸Running from Brownlow Hill to London Road, Lime Street is the main thoroughfare in Liverpool. One of the two main railway stations and St. George's Hall are on Lime Street. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, Plan of Liverpool, D, 4.

⁶⁹The second largest city in Great Britain, Glasgow is a city in south central Scotland on the Clyde River, known for its large shipyards and metalworks as well as for its image as an unpleasant, slum-ridden city. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 482; Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 1:1117.

Saturday, 26 September 1886⁷⁰

Went immediately after breakfast to the exposition⁷¹ riding on top of train to get the view. Spent about 6 hours on our feet looking, and then had not seen every thing. The ship models are beautiful and in great no. Naval architecture was fully represented, & from every country but U.S. A locomotive like Geo Stephenson's,⁷² Royal carriages, & royal harness,⁷³ including 2 sets of Geo []olk & heavy with gold plate, the others red & gold plated, statuary from Florence, Coral from Naples, glass from Venice Bohemian glass,⁷⁴ Furs from Norway, Lace from Belgium, and gum from the United States.

⁷⁰Saturday, 25 September 1886.

⁷¹Liverpool International Exhibition of Navigation, Traveling, Commerce, and Manufacture.

⁷²Born in Wylam, England, near Newcastle, George Stephenson (1781-1848) began his career repairing coal-hauling engines in the mines. In 1814 he built his first locomotive, which could pull eight coal cars at four miles per hour. Using steam as a means of motive power, Stephenson introduced in 1829 a locomotive named Rocket that could travel at twenty-nine miles per hour. Stephenson also built the first public railroad, running from Stockton to Darlington, and he built the Manchester to Liverpool line, using bridges, tunnels, and grading to create a level rail bed. John Daintith, Sarah Mitchell, and Elizabeth Tootill, *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Scientists*, 2 vols. (New York, 1981), 2:756-57; Roy Porter and Marilyn Ogilvie, eds., *The Biographical Dictionary of Scientists*, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (New York, 2000), 2:878-80.

⁷³Queen Victoria sent a carriage that she had used earlier in her reign to be displayed at the exhibition. *New York Times*, 16 May 1886.

⁷⁴Bohemian glass is generally decorative glass produced as early as the late thirteenth century in southern Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic, specially noted for the cut and engraved glass in high baroque style. With the invention of a heavy, high-luster potash-lime glass, known as Bohemian crystal, and the perfection of gem engraving, Bohemian glass became the leading type in the world by 1700. Its popularity waned with the introduction of English lead glass cut in the Rococo style in the late eighteenth century. Macfarlane and Martin, *Glass*, 23-24; Phillips, *Encyclopedia of Glass*, 90-117; Pickvet, *Encyclopedia of Glass*, 29.

We met in the American department Mrs. Colby a very pleasant lady having charge of a historical chart in the exhibit, published, I believe by Adams.⁷⁵

There was also beautiful caned furniture from Italy, some ancient and some made like old. Just before entering we met a pretty girl from Vienna, Aus.⁷⁶ a Hungarian who had charge of a glass stand, of Bohemian glass. She had been in the U.S. and liked America much. As it was raining when we came out, took a hansom. After dinner walked out a little again to a store in London Road, bought some paper & envelopes & photo of a Rev. Brown⁷⁷ whom Frederick saw here before but who died about 2 or 3 months ago.

⁷⁵Sebastian C. Adams (1825-98) was a minister in the Christian denomination who crossed the Oregon Trail in 1850 to settle in northwest Oregon, serving the Salem Christian Church for twenty years. Having taught school for four years, he was one of the founders in 1854 of McMinnville College, later Linfield College, and on the charter of Bethel College in 1856. Elected county clerk of Yamhill County in 1862 and state senator in 1868, Adams was active in the antislavery movement and a founding member of the Republican party in Oregon. Adams also published *A Chronological Chart of Ancient, Modern, and Biblical History*, an intricate historical chart covering the period from 4004 B.C. to the nineteenth century. First appearing as early as 1871, the chart contains maps drawn by Professor J.A. Paine. The 1886 version, published in New York, is the fifth edition, revised and enlarged. Jerry Rushford, *Christians on the Oregon Trail: Churches of Christ and Christian Churches in Early Oregon, 1842-1882* (Joplin, Mo., 1997), 10, 127-28, 206-07, 219, 283-85, 297; Kirk, *Supplement to Allibone's*, 1:12.

⁷⁶Located on the Danube River, Vienna is the capital of Austria and a mixture of German, Slavic, Italian, and Hungarian peoples and cultures. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 3:3348-49.

⁷⁷Born in Douglas on the Isle of Man, Hugh Stowell Brown (1823-86) left for England in 1839 to become an apprentice to a land surveyor. After becoming a teetotaler and a Sunday school teacher, Brown returned to the Isle of Man in 1844 to study for the ministry. In 1847 he returned to England to become the minister of Myrtle Street Chapel in Liverpool, a Baptist congregation, a position he filled until his death. Hugh Stowell Brown, *Hugh Stowell Brown: His Autobiography, His Commonplace Book, and Extracts from His Sermons and Addresses* (London, 1887), xii, 25, 29, 55, 59, 69-79.

Sunday, 27 September 1886⁷⁸

Had intended to hear the Rev. Stowell Brown, a Baptist clergyman who introduced Frederick to an audience when here years ago.⁷⁹ But we learned in the little store last evening that the good man had died. Frederick purchased his photograph, and this morning instead of going to church we walked for an hour & a half going down Lime St. & around by Abercromby Sq.⁸⁰ into the London Road home. People will look at Frederick wherever we go, but they wear no unpleasant expression. Many have a decided appearance of interest. In the evening we walked up to Pemberton Place and entered a Baptist church.⁸¹ The minister⁸² preached from the text in Genesis, Come in thou blessed

⁷⁸Sunday, 26 September 1886.

⁷⁹Brown was active in social and political causes during his ministry. He was president of the Liverpool branch of the Peace Society, chairman of the Liverpool Seaman's Friend Society, and a member of the United Kingdom Alliance, a temperance organization. Douglass addressed various Peace Society meetings in England in 1846, the National Temperance Society meeting in London on 21 May 1846, and the World Temperance Convention in London on 7 August 1846, meetings that Brown possibly attended. There is no record, however, to demonstrate that Brown introduced Douglass at any of these gatherings or to any other audience. Brown, *Hugh Stowell Brown*, xviii-xix; *Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, 1:249-99, 339-41.

⁸⁰Abercromby Square is on Bedford Street South between Oxford and Cambridge streets, in between Brownlow Hill and Myrtle streets. Geographers' A-Z Map Company, *AZ Premier Street Map of Liverpool* (Sevenoaks, Eng., 1990), F12, 13.

⁸¹The Douglasses attended Pembroke Chapel, located at Pembroke Place on Crown Street. Douglass Diary, Diary File, reel 1, frame 8, FD Papers, DLC; Sellers, *Salute to Pembroke*, 4-5.

⁸²The Reverend Richard Richards served Pembroke Chapel from 1881 to 1887. Originally a schoolmaster, Richards entered the ministry, serving successfully various Welsh and English churches. He had come to Liverpool to organize an infant ministry. His tenure at Pembroke Chapel was stormy, marked by petty disagreements among members over trite issues. The Baptist Church had to intervene on several occasions to establish peace so often that the name Pembroke became synonymous with internal dissension and unattractive squabbling. Sellers, *Salute to Pembroke*, 11.

of the Lord. Why stand ye without?⁸³ A plain, practical, earnest sermon. His pulpit, some like those in Cath. churches stood up by itself around the edge of a sq platform surrounding it a row of little boys led by a man in singing each boy holding a book by himself & singing away like little angels, I hope. After the sermon the minister descended unseen, and in the rear baptized two persons.

Monday, 28 September 1886⁸⁴

Wrote home in morning.⁸⁵ In P.M. we visited the Walker Art Gallery, or the permanent exhibition, not time for the Autumn exhibition in same building. Many verry interesting pictures, including that of the Saxon noble freeing his Saxon slave. The model of Windsor castle,⁸⁶ & of castle & abbey ruins especially fine. Were acosted while there by a Miss Oakey of 19th St. Washington.⁸⁷

⁸³“And he said, Come in, thou blessed of the LORD; wherefore standest thou without?” Gen. 24:31.

⁸⁴Monday, 27 September 1886.

⁸⁵No record remains of any letters that Helen wrote on this date.

⁸⁶Located in Windsor, twenty-one miles west of London, Windsor Castle is the primary domicile for the royal family outside of Buckingham Palace in London. Chosen as a site for a castle by William the Conqueror around 1070, the present Windsor Castle covers nine acres, the principle feature of which is a one hundred foot-tall round keep or tower, completed in 1528. Of significant architectural and historic interest is St. George’s Chapel, completed in 1516, housing the Order of the Garter and the burial site of several monarchs, including Henry VIII and most of the monarchs since 1820. The present royal family adopted the name Windsor, taken from Windsor Castle, in 1917 during World War I to replace Saxe-Coburg-Gotha due to its German origin. Michael De-la-Noy, *Windsor Castle: Past and Present* (London, 1990), 1-8, 151-54; Robin Mackworth-Young, *The History and Treasures of Windsor Castle* (New York, 1982), 22, 85; Ashley, *British Kings and Queens*, 801-02.

⁸⁷In 1886 Susan P. Okie lived alone at 1614 19th Street, NW, in Washington, D.C. She moved to the District of Columbia the year before, living at 1716 N Street, NW, with Harold P. Okie, a lawyer. In 1887 she had moved from Washington, D.C. William H. Boyd, comp., *Boyd’s*

Tuesday, 29 September 1886⁸⁸

Mr. Rawlins called.⁸⁹ Then on Lime St took a hansom to Great Eastern pier where we went aboard a clumsy crowded boat that took us down past some of the wonderful docks, by some ship yards past some war vessels to the Great Eastern, used now as a show for shows & advertisements. An immense vessel. Lunched on board, then descended with a crowd to the great compartment in which was conveyed the cable,⁹⁰ which is now used as a theater & saw the plays that interested the audience. On the boat going out to the Great Eastern, Frederick saw some girls take out their whisky bottle, & we saw a man & wife sit down with lunch & bottle.

Wednesday, September 30 1886⁹¹

From Lime St. Station⁹² took my first R.R. ride in Old England, through lovely, quiet landscapes, beautiful fields enclosed by trim hedge rows, to old Chester. At depot met a Miss Mason, American, been in Chester 2 weeks, abroad 5 yrs, was homesick,

Directory of the District of Columbia (Washington, D.C., 1884), 653; idem, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C., 1885), 651; idem, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C., 1886), 646; idem, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C., 1887), 660.

⁸⁸Tuesday, 28 September 1886.

⁸⁹Probably Arthur V. Rawlins.

⁹⁰After failing as a passenger or cargo steamer, the *Great Eastern* executed her most useful work beginning in 1865 when she laid the first Atlantic cable. Over the next eight years she laid several cables for the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company, a task for which her immense size made her particularly effective. Benstead, *Atlantic Ferry*, 109; Spratt, *Transatlantic Steam Navigation*, 31.

⁹¹Wednesday, 29 September 1886.

⁹²Located across from St. George's Hall, the Lime Street Station is in the heart of Liverpool and the site of the main railway service to London, Manchester, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 331, 333.

awaiting the cars to London & going home at once. Took a car top ride through town, to end of route & back to East Gate.⁹³ Visited the old Cathedral, my first. The organ was pealing through the vaulted isles as we entered & the voice of the clergyman reading the service in the distant choir sounded weird enough. The choristers too, filing out beyond the columns & the great marble tomb,⁹⁴ and at last disappearing in the distance, was a picture not to be forgotten. The whole experience was one to be remembered. It was only marred by my feeling I had not sufficient time for it. Saw an American from Chicago there, in a hurry. Spent the day in walking around the walls, mounting the towers visiting the Rows,⁹⁵ where poor Frederick became too tired to continue, returned to the depot & I continued through some of the old streets, took a car & joined him. Eaton Hall unhappily for us closed.⁹⁶

⁹³East Gate is one of several gates in the walls surrounding Chester. Other gates include North Gate, Water Gate, Bridge Gate, and New Gate. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 272-73.

⁹⁴In the middle of the south aisle of the choir is a tomb of an unknown person. Some have speculated that it is the tomb of Emperor Henry IV of Germany (1050-1106), who is actually interred at the Speyer Cathedral in Germany. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 276; I[an] S[tuart] Robinson, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (Cambridge, 1999), 344.

⁹⁵Located along the four main streets of Chester where they intersect, the Rows are a unique architectural feature of Chester. They consist of a continuous walkway on both the ground and second story of the buildings, with the upper floors providing coverage for the second story walkway. In essence, the Rows have recessed shops on the first two stories of the buildings with continuous arcades occupying the front of the buildings. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 273.

⁹⁶Eaton Hall, located three and a half miles south of Chester, is a mansion built from 1870 to 1882 by the Duke of Westminster. Noted for its extravagant style and modern art, the house and grounds, containing greenhouses, terraces, and a park with deer, were open to tours. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 278-79.

Thursday, 31 September 1886⁹⁷

Visited Autumn exhibition of paintings, where were many beautiful sketches of Welsh scenery, as well as of English views. Lunched in gallery & from there went to Library & Museum.⁹⁸ Saw 2 or 3 hundred working men seated at their books, a most interesting sight, except the fear that their presence was due to their being without work. Spent our time in museum, looking at the treasures gathered & stored in cases, glass covered for inspection.⁹⁹ Miniatures & other relics of the Bonaparte family,¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷Thursday, 30 September 1886.

⁹⁸The Liverpool Free Public Museum and William Brown Library.

⁹⁹The Liverpool Free Public Museum houses the Mayer Museum and the Mather Collection. Donated in 1867 by Joseph Mayer, the Mayer Museum includes manuscripts, ivories, enamels, and miniatures. John Mather donated his array of miniatures to the museum in 1872 after he had purchased the collection from Mayer. Charles T. Gatty, *Catalogue of Mediaeval and Later Antiquities Contained in the Mayer Museum, Including the Mather Collection of Miniatures and Medals Relating to the Bonaparte Family* (Liverpool, Eng., 1883), iii-iv; Cowell, *Liverpool Public Libraries*, 122.

¹⁰⁰The Mather Collection consists of miniature portraits and personal relics of the first Napoleon (1769-1821), emperor of the French from 1804 to 1814/15. The portraits include those of Napoleon's father and mother, Charles and Letitia Ramolino Bonaparte. The collection also contains a series of bronze medals that illustrate certain events in the life of Napoleon from 1796 to 1815, including the conquest of Upper Egypt in 1798 and the laying of the first stone of the National Column in the Place de la Concorde at Paris in 1800. Gatty, *Catalogue of Mediaeval and Later Antiquities*, 92-93, 97-98; Margaret Gibson and Susan M. Wright, eds., *Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, 1803-1886* (London, 1988), 212-26; Francois Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London, 1989), 273-86.

Cromwell's cup,¹⁰¹ Burns candlestick,¹⁰² Henry 6th gloves & boots silver spoon presented by him, & the 1st known of bearing maker's name,¹⁰³ watch given by Louis 16th to Maria Antoinette.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹A silver mounted gourd cup reputedly belonged to Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), the lord protector of England from 1653 until his death, although the mounting appears to be from a later date. Gatty, *Catalogue of Mediaeval and Later Antiquities*, 66; Gibson and Wright, *Joseph Mayer*, 46; *DNB*, 5:155-86.

¹⁰²The poet Robert Burns (1759-96) owned the wooden candlestick when he lived at Mossgill and Ellesland, according to a letter written by Burns's son. Mossgill, or Mossgiel, was the name of a farm near Mauchline, Scotland, that Burns and his brother had secretly leased in 1784. After spending two years in Edinburgh, Burns moved in 1788 to Ellisland Farm near Dumfries, Scotland. He lived there until moving to Dumfries in 1791, where he died. Gatty, *Catalogue of Mediaeval and Later Antiquities*, 67; Mary Ellen Brown, "Robert Burns," in *Eighteenth-Century British Poets: Second Series*, ed. John Sitter (Detroit, 1991), 36, 48.

¹⁰³As the youngest monarch ever to ascend to the throne of England, Henry VI (1421-71) is the first monarch since the Norman Conquest to have two reigns, from 1422 to 1461, and from 1470 to 1471, and one of the few English monarchs to suffer a mental collapse. When Henry VI hid at Bolton Hall, Yorkshire, after the battle of Hexham on 15 May 1464, Sir Ralph Pudsey gave him a pair of boots, a pair of gloves, and a spoon. Pudsey's descendants later donated the items to the museum and verified their authenticity. Made from Spanish leather, the boots and gloves are small for a man. The spoon has a hexagonal handle engraved with a single rose, the emblem of the king. On the back of the stem is a small heart, stamped with a punch, to identify the maker. Also stamped on the back of the stem is a Lombardic symbol indicating the year 1446. Gatty, *Catalogue of Mediaeval and Later Antiquities*, 64-65; Paul E. Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and Joel T. Rosenthal, eds., *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 1998), 348-49.

¹⁰⁴Louis XVI (1754-93) ruled France from 1774 to 1792. He married Marie Antoinette (1755-93), the daughter of Emperor Francis I of Austria, in 1770 to strengthen the ties between the two countries. The masses blamed France's enormous debt on the queen's extravagant lifestyle, leading to a revolt in 1789 that imprisoned Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette in the palace for four years. Convicted separately of treason and guillotined in 1793, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were the last of the Bourbon monarchs of France. Furet and Ozouf, *Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 234-42, 252-63.

Friday, 1 October [1886]

Left Liverpool at 11:20 a.m. in the rain, for St. Neots, intending to spend the night at Peterboro and see the cathedral.¹⁰⁵ But the tickets would not admit of stopping & we came on unannounced to Mrs. Crofts, in St. Neots, a quaint little English town hidden away from the R.R. station, built of a yellowish stone, opening immediately onto the narrow sts that seems more like lanes than a sts, of 4000 inhabitants and no newspaper. It seems the queerest little place possible. The houses, I should call them cottages, are low, and as I said open directly upon a cobble stone side walk, on the roadway itself. Coming from Liverpool we passed through beautiful landscapes, hedgerows, fields cultivated like gardens, and what appeared almost perfect country roads, clean as if swept by a broom, and not a single person riding upon them.¹⁰⁶ We came between some barren mountain tops, I think in southern Yorkshire, & first we knew ran through a tunnel coming out upon another landscape and running quite away from the rain.¹⁰⁷ We passed in the vicinity of the underground palace of the late Duke of Portland.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵Peterborough, 162 miles from Liverpool, is home to a Norman cathedral, portions of which date back to 1117. The choir, the great transept, and the west transept, all built in the twelfth century, are the oldest parts of the cathedral. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 369.

¹⁰⁶The 186-mile train ride from Liverpool to Saint Neots passes through the towns of Penistone, Sheffield, Newark, Grantham, Peterborough, and Huntingdon. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 365-370.

¹⁰⁷At Woodhead, fifty-five miles from Liverpool, the railway passes through a three mile-long tunnel, beginning in Cheshire and ending in Yorkshire. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 366.

¹⁰⁸The fifth duke of Portland, William John Cavendish (1800-79), built a unique underground compound at Welbeck Abbey, the site of the Nottinghamshire seat for the duke of Portland. Approached through a tunnel that was two miles long, the underground quarters included a library, ball room, picture gallery, and riding school. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 367;

We passed through two long tunnels, one of which was a 5 minutes tunnel. A nice little English woman & two children got out at [] for [] their home, a great plum region.¹⁰⁹ She had been very kind in pointing out and describing, and we were sorry for her to go. Afterwards a ruddy young Englishman & a rather sickly looking man got in, the latter from Natal,¹¹⁰ but English born. At the Cross¹¹¹ St. Neots, Mrs. Crofts met us with open arms. We had tea, went to bed in a cosy chamber and I spent my first night in a real English home, feeling how surely walls can open from a very common outside to the most cheerful and elegant hearthstones, shut away entirely from the world.

Saturday, 2 October [1886]

In the morning a walk with Mrs. Crofts & Frederick (the trio) first to the beautiful old church, English of course & tending to high ritualism, then the cemetery, & through lovely lanes back to dinner. Breakfast 8. dinner 1. tea 4. supper 8. everlasting eating, but not much at a time, which is after all perhaps, the better way. After dinner, a donkeyish looking diminutive horse & I think a “fly,”¹¹² with Frederick driving, took us to Buckden,

George E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, 6 vols. (New York, 1984), 4:596.

¹⁰⁹The region between Newark and Grantham was famous at the time for its fruit production. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 368.

¹¹⁰Natal is an area on the Indian Ocean in the Republic of South Africa, originally settled by British traders in 1823 and annexed to the Cape Colony by the British in 1845. Natal became a separate colony in 1856 and achieved self-governance in 1893. Its name derives from the Latin word for birth because the explorer Vasco da Gama sighted an important harbor in the region on Christmas day in 1497. David Munro, *The Oxford Dictionary of the World* (Oxford, 1995), 427.

¹¹¹Cross Keys was the name of the railway station serving Saint Neots. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 370.

¹¹²A quick-traveling, light vehicle drawn by a horse.

an old coaching town, to the Towers, the palace in which Catherine of Arragon spent some time before going to Kimbolton where she died.¹¹³ Adjoining was the old parish church, in the church yard of which were the graves of two of her nephews, who being at Cambridge & the sweating sickness breaking out, she brought them to Buckden, where the unfortunate youths sickened & died.¹¹⁴ We took tea at the the old coaching inn of the town, which being one of the halting places on the old road from London to York¹¹⁵ had

¹¹³Situated midway on the road from London to Lincoln, the hamlet of Buckden is three miles southwest of Huntingdon. Similar to other towns on the road, Buckden developed a coaching trade, beginning in the seventeenth century and flourishing until the mid-nineteenth century, with such businesses as inns, wheelwrights, farriers, and coach-building. Due to its convenient location, the bishop of Lincoln built a palace at Buckden, later called Buckden Towers because the red brick tower built from 1472 to 1480 was essentially all that remained of the palace. Henry VIII sent his first wife, Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536), to live at Buckden Palace in July 1533 when he was attempting to secure a divorce from her. After two years at Buckden Palace, Catherine of Aragon moved to Kimbolton in the Huntingdonshire countryside, where she died. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 362; Mary M. Luke, *Catherine the Queen* (New York, 1967), 442-43, 466; Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (Boston, 1941), 374-75, 390-93; Wickes, *History of Huntingdonshire*, 53, 81; H[enry] C[lifford] Darby, "Domesday England," in *A New Historical Geography of England*, ed. H[enry] C[lifford] Darby (Cambridge, 1973), 40; idem, "The Age of the Improver: 1600-1800," in *New Historical Geography*, 372-73; Bartholomew, *Gazetteer of the British Isles*, 104.

¹¹⁴Henry and Charles Brandon, the fifth and sixth dukes of Suffolk respectively, were the two youths buried in the Buckden cemetery. Henry (1535-51) was the duke of Suffolk while a student at King's and St. John's Colleges at Cambridge. His younger brother, Charles (1537/38-51) attended St. John's College. Both became ill with the sweating sickness and died at the bishop of Lincoln's palace at Buckden on the same day. Because Henry died a half hour before Charles, Charles succeeded him to the title for the brief period he survived his brother. Katherine of Aragon had nothing to do with bringing the boys to Buckden, as she had been dead for almost fifteen years at the time of the youths' illness. Neither boy was related to Katherine of Aragon, although her husband, Henry VIII, was related to the boys' family through marriage. The boys' father, Charles Brandon, the fourth duke of Suffolk (c.1484-1545), married Henry VIII's sister, Mary (1494/5-1533), but she was not the mother of the two youths. After Mary's death, the fourth duke of Suffolk married Katherine, Baroness of Willoughby de Eresby (1519-80), who was the mother of Henry and Charles. Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, 5:454-61.

¹¹⁵The Great North Road, leading from London to York through the counties of Hertford, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, passes through Buckden. As with other towns along the road, Buckden was the site of coaching inns, two of which were the George and the Lion, to

seen many a mery bout of bluff Old Harry's merry men.¹¹⁶ The road thence was beautiful as no other than English roads I believe can be, but, beautiful as it is, this part of the country depresses me by its flatness. I rather some elevation if bleak. We ambled home, much amused by our little beastie, who in the midst of a very respectable trot would suddenly almost stop as if overcome by sudden weakness, then after a proper interval jog on again.

Sunday, 3 October [1886]

To church in morning. The choir boys marched in in white robes, the lessons were read & I like an American barbarian could not find a single place in the ritual. Sermon by a stranger—very tame. P.M. Frederick went with Miss Crofts to Wesleyan meeting.¹¹⁷ In evening the Meth, or Wesleyan, pastor & a teacher took supper with us.¹¹⁸ I liked especially the pastor.

accommodate the large volume of coach traffic. Darby, "Domesday England," 40; Alan Harris, "Changes in the Early Railway Age: 1800-1850," in *New Historical Geography*, 509; Wickes, *History of Huntingdonshire*, 81-82.

¹¹⁶ Variation of Bluff King Hal, or Henry VIII, so named for his bluff, hearty manner. Room, *Brewer's Dictionary*, 133.

¹¹⁷ John Wesley, the patriarch of Methodism, first visited Huntingdonshire in 1774, preaching at Godmanchester. Several worshipers departed to establish a preaching ministry at Saint Neots. Wesley himself preached at and visited Saint Neots several times from 1775 to 1790. Known as Wesleyan Methodists, the congregation built a chapel at Saint Neots in 1794 that could seat 721. Wickes, *History of Huntingdonshire*, 97-100; John Wesley, *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, 8 vols. (London, 1938), 6:90, 133-34, 215, 300, 378, 7:35, 448.

¹¹⁸ Three ministers served the Saint Neots Methodist congregation in 1886: Daniel Eva, serving in his third year, and William Taylor and Thomas S. Berry, both serving in their first year. Joseph Hall, *Hall's Circuits and Ministers: An Alphabetical List of the Circuits in Great Britain with the Names of the Ministers Stationed in Each Circuit, Together with the Appointments to Departments and Other Offices from 1765 to 1912*, ed. T. Galland Hartley, rev. ed. (London, [1912]), 477.

Monday, 4 October [1886]

A day to be remembered. A pilgrimage to Cambridge.¹¹⁹ With a guide we visited Keys, Trinity, Kings, St. Johns, the Round Church, the gardens, crossed the bridge of Sighs (after the one at Venice), Trinity Chapel, and finished the day by attending service at Kings Chapel.¹²⁰ The hour, 5 P.M. the slim wax tapers, the fading day light coming through the grand painted windows, the noble organ, the magnificent anthem, the solemn

¹¹⁹Cambridge University is a collection of various colleges that date from 1318 when Pope John XXII issued a bull recognizing Cambridge as a *stadium generale*, or university. The colleges themselves trace their origins to the associations of students, separate from religiously affiliated groups, who started to reside in independent hostels, or halls. Over time, private benefactors endowed these halls, beginning with Hugh De Balsham, Bishop of Ely, who in 1284 founded Peterhouse, the first of the Cambridge colleges. Since then, five new colleges emerged in the fourteenth century, five new ones in the fifteenth century, six in the sixteenth, and others followed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 440; Richard Gloucester and Hermione Hobhouse, *Oxford and Cambridge* (New York, 1980), 101-08.

¹²⁰Caius (pronounced "keys"), Trinity, King's, and St. John's are four of the several colleges that make up Cambridge, each founded at a different time and with a different benefactor: Caius, abbreviated name for Gonville and Caius, founded as Gonville Hall in 1348 with a bequest from Edmond Gonville, a rich Norfolk clergy; Trinity, created in 1546 by Henry VIII's merger of two colleges, Michaelhouse and King's Hall; King's, founded in 1441 with Henry VI as a benefactor; and St. John's, established in 1511 through the efforts of Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby and the mother of Henry VII. The Round Church, or the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, derives its name from its twelfth-century circular nave modeled after its namesake in Jerusalem. Several of the colleges have gardens adjacent to them, and Cambridge itself has a botanical garden to the south of the campus. Built in 1831, the Bridge of Sighs is one of several bridges spanning the River Cam, and it joins the multiple courts that comprise St. John's College. Its namesake in Venice, the sixteenth century Bridge of Sighs, or Ponte dei Sospiri, spans the Rio del Palazzo and joins the Doge's prisons with the inquisitor's room in the Doge's Palace. The sighs of the prisoners on their way to judgment reputedly inspired the bridge's name. Of the several college chapels, Trinity College Chapel, begun in 1555 and completed in 1567, is famous for its large and impressive timber roof, donated by Mary I. King's College Chapel, begun by Henry VI in 1446 and completed by Henry VIII in 1515, is the most spectacular and largest of the Cambridge chapels, noted for its architecture and its choral music. Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 439-447; idem, *Northern Italy*, 252; Michael Grant, *Cambridge* (London, 1966), 51, 56, 66, 70, 85-86, 190; Gloucester and Hobhouse, *Oxford and Cambridge*, 104, 145; Christopher Brooke and Roger Highfield, *Oxford and Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1988), 101, 135; Terisio Pignatti, *Venice*, trans. Judith Landry (London, 1971), 72-73, 200; John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, ed. Jan Morris (Boston, 1981), 171-74.

echoing of the vaulted roof, the silent listeners, the beautiful singing, all made it an hour to be ever remembered.¹²¹ We, the trio, went back to the hotel for our tea & thereby nearly lost our train, the waiters assuring us the omnibus would be around in time, & even when nearly time for train to start calmly asserting there was time enough. We finally left them entirely, secured a carriage & reached our train, & left all the glories of Cambridge behind us, to be treasured in memory forever.

¹²¹Depicting the birth, life, and death of Jesus and the birth and death of the Virgin Mary, the stained glass windows date from the early years of Henry VII's reign. The organ and case are seventeenth century, with significant modifications in the early and mid-eighteenth century. The fan vaulted roof dates from 1508 to 1515, constructed under the direction of master mason John Westell. Brooke and Highfield, *Oxford and Cambridge*, 105; Gloucester, *Oxford and Cambridge*, 104; Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. John Willis Clark, 3 vols. (1886; Cambridge, 1988), 1:479-80, 518-21.

Tuesday, 5 October 1886

Remained in. Frederick addressed the school and a few invited friends[.]¹²² Tea was served in the school room. Mr. Clifden¹²³ took Frederick out on the Great Ouse¹²⁴ in his yacht. Several friends in to supper.

Wednesday, 6 October 1886

Another great day. The trio went to London to the Colonial Exhibition.¹²⁵ A wonderful exhibition of the arts, sciences, and products of all the English colonies, beautifully arranged, & exceedingly interesting.

¹²²After the death of her husband, Julia Griffiths Crofts for twenty years ran a boarding school for girls, having both boarders and day pupils. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 182; Palmer, "Partnership," 16.

¹²³The records do not reveal anyone by the name Clifden residing in Huntingdonshire around this time, though it was the domicile of several men with the surname Clifton. Arthur Clifton, a farmer and miller on Houghton Hill farm, lived at Houghton, a parish between Huntingdon and St. Ives on the north bank of the Ouse River. Frederick Clifton, a farmer and corn merchant, lived at Carlton House in Houghton and also did business in Huntingdon. John Clifton, a farmer, lived at St. Ives hill, located on the north bank of the Ouse. James Clifton, a beer retailer, lived five miles northeast of St. Ives at Somershire. Also a beer retailer, John F. Clifton lived at Warboys, seven miles northeast of Huntingdon on the London Road. E.R. Kelly, ed., *The Post Office Directory of the Counties of Bedford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Berks, Buckingham and Oxford* (London, 1877), 177, 192, 195, 200-201, 206-07.

¹²⁴Navigable for two-thirds of its length, the 155 mile-long Ouse River in south central England begins in the Northampton Highlands and generally flows northeast, draining the eastern Midlands and the western Fens. The river runs past Bedford and Ely to the Wash close to King's Lynn, Norfolk. Cohen, *Columbia Gazetteer*, 2:2323.

¹²⁵The Colonial and Indian Exhibition took place in London in 1886 to celebrate the various cultures and diversity of the British Empire. The exhibits included ship models, gardens, fountains, historic scenes, and products from various colonies, including Canada, Australia, Fiji, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Singapore, Jamaica, Barbados, Sierra Leon, Gambia, and the Indian Empire. The exhibition opened in May 1886 and ran for six months. Colonial and Indian Exhibition, *Official Catalogue*, xv-lv.

Textual Notes

These notes address variations in the transcript from the travel diaries, other than those covered by the editorial policy. Each note begins with the date of the journal entry followed by the adopted variant.

Douglass's Travel Diary

[Wednesday,] 15 September 1886 "Steamer City of Rome"] These words precede the date in the line before the journal entry.

Wednesday, 20 October 1886 Arrived in Paris] These words precede the date in the first line of the journal entry.

[Thursday,] 6 January 1887 Dejun] This word precedes the date in the line before the journal entry.

Sunday, 9 [January 1887] [W]e went] This journal entry does not begin on a new line, but starts on the same line as the preceding entry. For consistency and clarity the paragraph has been supplied to separate this entry from the one before it.

[Wednesday,] 12 January [1887] Varénan] This name is underlined in the journal entry. Douglass did not typically underline in his diary the foreign names of cities, such as Lyon and Genova. The line under Varénan in all likelihood was a place hold for Douglass to fill in at a later time. Thus the name has not been italicized in the transcript.

Tuesday, 22 [February 1887] Cheops] This name is underlined in the journal entry. Douglass did not generally underline the names of ancient Egyptian pharaohs such as Cheops, Ramses, and Meni. The line under Cheops is probably a place hold, completed later by Douglass. Hence the name is not italicized in the transcript.

[Wednesday,] 26 January [1887] Via Venti Settembre, Roma] This address is underlined in Douglass's diary, a practice he did not follow in his journal when recording any other addresses in a foreign language, such as Palazzo Moroni, 165 Borgo Vecchio, Roma. The line under the address is most likely a place hold, filled in later by Douglass, and it is not italicized in the transcript.

Wednesday, 16 February 1887 Morning came morning came] Although these words constitute two independent clauses not separated by punctuation or joined by a coordinating conjunction, no terminal punctuation has been inserted and the beginning of the second clause has not been capitalized because the second clause was a slip of the pen and not intended to be a separate sentence.

Wednesday, 16 February 1887 Bacheese] This word is underlined in the diary. In his diary Douglass did not underscore isolated foreign words, such as fromage or barometre. The underline is probably a place hold, filled in later by Douglass. Therefore the word is not italicized in the transcript.

Wednesday, 23 February [1887] On] The name is underlined in the journal entry. Douglass did not underscore the names of ancient cities in the Bible, such as Puteoli, when he wrote them in his journal. Thus the line under On is most likely a place hold, which Douglass filled in at a later time, and it is not italicized in the transcript.

Tuesday, 15 March 1887 Called] This journal entry does not begin on a new line, but starts on the same line as the end of the preceding entry. For consistency and clarity the paragraph has been supplied to separate this entry in the journal from the one preceding it.

[Tuesday,] 31 May [1887] London] The word precedes the date in the first line of the journal entry.

Helen Pitts Douglass's Travel Diary

[Tuesday,] 14 September 1886 City of Rome] These words precede the date on the first line of the journal entry.

Line-End Hyphenation in the Copy-Text

The list below contains all the possible compound words hyphenated at end-of-line in the travel diary of Helen Pitts Douglass, as the diary of Frederick Douglass has no line-end hyphenations. The form in which each possible compound is presented indicates the editor's decision regarding the form (hyphenated or unhyphenated) that the compound should take when it occurs within a line. The editor's decisions were based on Helen Pitts Douglass's usage in her travel diary and in other writings.

[Tuesday,] 14 September 1886	breakfast
Sunday, 19 [September 1886]	waterproof
Thursday, 24 September [1886]	everywhere
Thursday, 24 September [1886]	bare-headed
Friday, 1 October [1886]	underground
Friday, 1 October [1886]	Afterwards

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Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 10 December 1873, General Correspondence File, reel 2, frames 700-703, Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress.

Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 23 March 1878, General Correspondence File, reel 3, frames 241-43, Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress.

Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 13 July 1885, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frame 193, Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress.

Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 13 October 1885, General Correspondence File, reel 4, frames 217-19, Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress.

Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 19 August 1886, General Correspondence File, reel 4, 380-81, Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress.

Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 1 September 1890, General Correspondence File, reel 5, frames 783-84, Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress.

Henry O. Wagoner, Sr., to Douglass, 17 August 1893, General Correspondence File, reel 32, frames 250-51, Frederick Douglass Papers, Library of Congress.

III. NEWSPAPERS

Boston *Liberator*, 18 November 1853 (alleging that the activities of Julia Griffiths (Crofts) had caused marital discord in the Douglass household).

Boston *Liberator*, 2 December 1853 (Anna Douglass responding to the allegation that the activities of Julia Griffiths (Crofts) had caused marital discord in the Douglass household).

New York *Independent*, 23 May 1895. (publishing letters written by Douglass to Theodore Stanton on 13 January 1887 from Marseilles; 29 April 1887 from Rome; and 10 May 1887 from Florence).

New York *Times*, 28 January 1884. (reporting that Helen Pitts Douglass was the daughter of Gideon Pitts of Honeoye, New York).

New York *Times*, 13 May 1884. (quoting Captain Munro on the speed of the *City of Rome* sailing from Liverpool to New York).

New York *Times*, 29 October 1885. (announcing plans for the international exhibition of navigation, traveling, commerce, and manufacture at Liverpool in May 1886).

New York *Times*, 12 May 1886. (reporting that Queen Victoria opened the International Exhibition of Navigation, Traveling, Commerce, and Manufacture in Liverpool).

New York *Times*, 16 May 1886. (describing the exhibits at the International Exhibition in Liverpool, including a coach once used by Queen Victoria).

New York *Times*, 3 September 1886. (announcing the departure of the *City of Rome* from Queenstown, Ireland, on 2 September 1886 and the number of passengers on board).

New York *Times*, 6 September 1886. (announcing the departure of the *City of Rome* from Liverpool on 1 September 1886).

New York *Times*, 10 September 1886. (reporting that the *City of Rome*, under Captain Munro, arrived in New York from Liverpool).

New York *Times*, 12 September 1886. (publishing a partial list of passengers booked to sail on the *City of Rome* on 15 September 1886 from New York to Liverpool).

New York *Times*, 13 September 1886. (announcing that the *City of Rome* was scheduled to leave New York at 6:30 A.M. on 15 September 1886).

New York *Times*, 16 September 1886 (reporting that the *City of Rome* sailed on 15 September 1886 and publishing a partial list of passengers on board).

New York *Times*, 23 September 1886 (reporting that the *City of Rome*, under Captain Munro, was en route from New York to Liverpool).

New York *Times*, 17 October 1886 (publishing excerpt from a letter written by Douglass from Liverpool on 27 September 1886).

New York *Times*, 11 April 1887 (reporting on Easter, 1887).

New York *Times*, 4 July 1888 (reporting on Americans living in Cairo and on American judges in Egypt).

New York *Times*, 2 July 1889 (announcing that Eugene Schuyler replaced John Cardwell as ambassador to Egypt).

New York *Times*, 23 November 1889 (interviewing John Cardwell, former U.S. ambassador to Egypt).

New York *Times*, 7 March 1895 (announcing that the children of Douglass intended to contest his will on the grounds that Helen Pitts Douglass unduly influenced him).

New York *Times*, 1 October 1898 (reporting that the children of Douglass objected to Helen Pitts Douglass's attempt to move his body from Rochester, New York, to Cedar Hill).

New York *Times*, 25 May 1907 (reporting illness of Theodore Tilton).

New York *Times*, 26 May 1907 (publishing obituary of Theodore Tilton).

New York *Times*, 21 November 1908 (reporting death of William Harvey).

New York *Times*, 26 April 1914 (announcing that Eleanor Lewis had donated the life work of her aunt, artist Adelia Gates, to the Smithsonian Institution).

New York *Times*, 6 April 1923 (reporting the death of George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Herbert).

New York *Times*, 7 April 1923 (recounting myths of the curse of the mummy's tomb).

New York *Times*, 2 March 1925 (publishing obituary of Theodore Stanton).

New York *Times*, 12 March 1928 (publishing obituary of Henrietta Lee Harvey).

Philadelphia *Christian Recorder*, 10 February 1887 (reprinting letter written by Douglass on 19 November 1886 from Paris to Lewis Hayden and Henry Watson).

IV. GOVERNMENT CENSUSES

A. UNITED STATES

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census. *Census of the United States, 9th Census, 1870, Population, New York, Ontario County* (supplying information on the household of Gideon and Jane Wells Pitts).

_____. *Census of the United States, 10th Census, 1880, Population, Massachusetts, Hampden County* (supplying information on the household of George H. Blaloch).

_____. *Census of the United States, 10th Census, 1880, Population, New York, Erie County* (supplying information on the household of George W. and Izora Chandler).

_____. *Census of the United States, 10th Census, 1880, Population, Washington, District of Columbia* (supplying information on the households of Douglass, Lewis Henry Douglass, and Rosetta Douglass Sprague).

B. GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain, General Register Office. *1881 British Census and National Index; England, Scotland, Wales, Channel Islands, Isle of Man, and Royal Navy, Denbigh County* (identifying the Rawlins household).

_____. *1881 British Census and National Index; England, Scotland, Wales, Channel Islands, Isle of Man, and Royal Navy, Flint County* (identifying the Rawlins household).

_____. *1881 British Census and National Index; England, Scotland, Wales, Channel Islands, Isle of Man, and Royal Navy, Lancashire County* (identifying the Rawlins household).

_____. *1881 British Census and National Index; England, Scotland, Wales, Channel Islands, Isle of Man, and Royal Navy, Surrey County* (identifying household of Isabella Mills).

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Curriculum Vitae

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Education

Indiana University

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Master of Arts in History with public history concentration, projected graduation 2003

University Graduate Fellowship, awarded competitively among graduate students at IUPUI

Indiana University School of Law

Indianapolis, IN

Juris Doctor, *summa cum laude*

Class Rank: 3/213

Articles Editor, *Indiana Law Review*

DePauw University

Greencastle, IN

Bachelor of Arts, *summa cum laude*

English Literature Major, Business Minor

Phi Beta Kappa

College Year in Athens, Greece

Public History Experience

The Frederick Douglass Papers Project

Indianapolis, IN

Associate Editor, fall 1999-present

- Researched and drafted historic annotations for Douglass autobiographies
- Copy edited scholarly edition of *My Bondage and My Freedom*
- Reviewed textual editing of *My Bondage and My Freedom*

Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana

Indianapolis, IN

Research Intern, spring 1999

- Engaged in historic preservation activities in the Indianapolis metropolitan area

Indiana Historical Society

Indianapolis, IN

Research Intern, fall 1998

- Conducted research on legal career and collected legal papers for the Lew Wallace Project

The Polis Center

Indianapolis, IN

Research Assistant, 1996-97

- Conducted research on religious composition of large and medium cities in the U.S.
- Analyzed religious trends in urban areas of the United States
- Wrote explanation of methodology for monograph on study of religion in U.S. cities

Legal Experience

McBride Baker & Coles

Chicago, IL

Employee Benefits, Tax, and Transactions Lawyer

- Researched and wrote qualified and nonqualified employee benefit plans
- Prepared due diligence research for acquisitions and mergers of corporations
- Delivered lectures for continuing education for accountants in employee benefits field

Ice Miller Donadio & Ryan

Indianapolis, IN

Employee Benefits and General Business Lawyer

- Conducted research and wrote qualified pension and health plans
- Represented clients in governmental audits and inquiries on tax matters
- Speaker at employee benefits seminars on qualified plan requirements

United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit

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Judicial Clerk to the Honorable John L. Coffey

Staff Attorney

- Conducted research and wrote legal memoranda for oral argument of federal appellate cases
- Conducted research and wrote published legal opinions on constitutional and federal legal issues

Publication

“Res Judicata in Federal Court: State or Federal Law?”

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